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HANDBOOK

TO THE

CATHEDRALS OF WALES.

LLANDAFF.—ST. DAVID'S.—ST. ASAPH.—
BANGOR.

With Illustrations.

J. P. MURRAY, LONDON.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1873.

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PREFACE.

THE appearance of the 'Handbook to the Cathedrals of Wales' has been much delayed in consequence of the extensive restorations which have been in progress for some time past. The Cathedrals have been filled with scaffolding; and it was found impossible, until recently, to procure such drawings or photographs as were necessary for the Illustrations to the present volume.

This has been arranged on the same plan as the Handbooks for the English Cathedrals. The Churches of Llandaff and of St. David's have been described at considerable length—the former in Mr. E. A. Freeman's 'Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral,' published in 1850; the latter in Messrs. Jones and Freeman's 'History and Antiquities of St. David's,' published in 1856. Since those dates the two Cathedrals have undergone extensive restorations, the details of which are described in the following pages. But it is impossible to write of Llandaff or St. David's without frequent reference to the books just mentioned; and although

due acknowledgment of their value has been made in the notes to each Cathedral, it is proper to recognise in this place the extent to which the Author has been indebted to them. A similar use has been made of the Bishop of Llandaff's 'Account of Llandaff Cathedral,' in which the later history of the fabric is fully traced. And especial thanks are due to the Bishop and to Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration at Llandaff, for the kindness with which they have afforded assistance and information. At St. David's, the assistance of the Rev. W. B. Thomas, Canon of the Cathedral, and of the Rev. A. J. Green, has been not less valuable.

Sir G. G. Scott, R.A., has kindly supplied information relating to the three Cathedrals, St. David's, St. Asaph's, and Bangor, in the restoration of which he has been concerned.

Thanks are especially due to Mr. E. A. Freeman for permission to use some of the woodcuts belonging to his volume on Llandaff. Sir G. G. Scott and the Committee for the Restoration of Bangor have allowed the use of some engravings, prepared by Messrs. Dalziel for the illustration of Sir G. Scott's second report on that Cathedral. The exterior and interior views of Bangor are from drawings made by Mr. Buckler, and lithographed by him on a much larger scale. The Rev. Dr. Sparrow, of Ludlow, who has successfully photographed many portions of St. David's, kindly supplied some photographs, which have been found of great service.

Since the publication of the 'Handbook for the Northern Cathedrals,' the last of the English series, the death has occurred of Mr. Orlando Jewitt, by whom the whole of that series was illustrated. To his great skill as an architectural engraver he added a knowledge of Gothic architecture which made his assistance of very unusual value. The engravings in the present volume are by Mr. J. W. Whymper.

RICHARD JOHN KING.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE fact that the four Welsh episcopal sees are the sole existing representatives of that British Church which was established in this country before the arrival or the conquests of the English, renders it desirable to prefix to this volume a short general notice of their earlier history.

At what time Christianity was introduced into Britain is altogether uncertain. The traditions or guesses which exist or have been hazarded about it rest on no authority whatever. Nor is the evidence alleged for the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the second century at all more trustworthy. To this period belongs the story of the shadowy King Lucius, which, it would seem, originated in Rome during the fifth or sixth century. But from A.D. 200 to A.D. 300 there is sufficient proof that British Christians were numerous, and references are made to them by both Tertullian and Origen. It is certain, too, that during the following century the Church in Britain became settled and organised. British bishops (apparently of York, of London, and of Caerleon-on-Usk, answering to the capitals of Roman provinces) were present at the Council of Arles (A.D. 314), possibly at that of Sardica (A.D. 347), and at the Council of Ariminum in 359. There was frequent intercourse between the Churches of Britain and of Gaul, and it was from Gaul that Germanus (Bishop of Auxerre) and Lupus (Bishop of Troyes) were sent (A.D. 429) to confute the Pelagian heresy in Britain, the author of it being himself a British Christian. The persecution under Diocletian had been felt but little in Britain or in Gaul and it is not certain whether St. Alban,

the so-called "proto-martyr of Britain," suffered at that period or somewhat later.^a

§ 2. But in whatever condition the British Church was left at the departure of the legionaries, and however completely it had been organised, it is certain that it was utterly swept away in all those parts of Britain which were conquered by the English while still heathens. This was the whole of the southern, eastern, central, and northern portions of the island. The British kingdom of Damnonia or "West Wales," including parts of what is now Somersetshire and the whole of Devonshire and Cornwall, was not Anglicised until after the conversion of the conquerors, and it retained for some time its British ecclesiastical organisation. Wales remained independent much longer, as did the kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria, extending from the Mersey to the Clyde. In these districts the ancient hierarchy was still existing when Augustine (A.D. 603) held his famous conferences with the British bishops, at the place afterwards known as "Augustine's Oak;" somewhere, probably, on the plain of the Severn, not far from the site of Bristol. According to an old Welsh tradition the bishops who met there^b were those of Hereford, Teilo (or Llandaff), Llanbadarn Vawr, Bangor, Llanelwy (or St. Asaph), Weeg (supposed to have been the see of a suffragan of Llandaff), and Morganwg (or Margam). But this list is of little authority. It is more than probable that other British bishops, especially those of Damnonia, were present; and it has been suggested that bishops of the parts of Britain then overrun by the English might have, and probably had, fled into Wales, and were still surviving. From these conferences, however (there were two), dates a schism between the British Church and that

^a For all the evidence relating to the first period of Christianity in Britain see Haddan and Stubbs' 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' vol. i.

^b Bede (H. E. ii. 2) says there were seven British bishops present.

now planted by Augustine among the English, which was not healed for a considerable period. The points on which it formally rested were—a difference in the time of observing Easter, some variation in the form (probably in the number of immersions) of baptism, and the peculiarity of the British tonsure; but national prejudices, and the hatred of the conquered for their conquerors, were, no doubt, strongly predisposing causes.

§ 3. The answer to Augustine attributed to the Abbot Dinoth (see below, note ^c), refers to the Bishop of Caerleon-on-Usk as exercising some kind of metropolitical jurisdiction over at least the other bishops of Wales. But this answer, at any rate in the form in which we now have it, is of much later date. It is possible that Caerleon had still a bishop at

^c Dinoth, the abbot of a great monastery (*nobilissimum monasterium, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg*—it was probably Bangor Iscoed), is mentioned by Bede (H. E. ii. 2) in his account of the second conference. The answer to Augustine, attributed to him, was copied at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Spelman, from a Welsh MS. in the possession of Mr. Peter Mostyn, and printed in his ‘*Concilia*.’ Two copies of it, in Welsh, exist among the Cottonian MS. Spelman’s Latin translation is as follows: “*Notum sit et absque dubitatione vobis, quod nos omnes sumus et quilibet nostrum obediētes et sublimi ecclesiæ Dei et Papæ Romæ et unicuique vero et pio Christiano, ad amandū unumquemque in suo gradu in perfecta charitate, et ad juvandū unumquemque eorum verbo et facto fore filios Dei. Et aliam obediētiā quam istam non scio debitam ei, quem vos nominatis esse Papam, nec esse patrem patrum, vindicari et postulari. Et istam obediētiā nos sumus parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano continuo. Præterea nos sumus sub gubernatione Episcopi Caerlegionis-super-Osca, qui est ad supervidendū sub Deo super nobis, ad faciendū nos servare viam spiritualem.*” (See the Welsh original in Haddan and Stubbs’ ‘*Councils*,’ i. 122.) This answer, although it may traditionally represent what was really said, is, in its present form, not older than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

the time of the conference with Augustine; but it is more probable that the change which took place about that period had already been made. The see of Caerleon seems to have been the one Roman see for the province which included what is now the whole of Wales. But there were political changes in Wales contemporary with, and perhaps resulting from, the English advance to the Severn. The country broke into smaller principalities, and in each one of these an episcopal see was established. These were—Bangor, for the principality of Gwynedd (or Venedotia); Llanelwy (or St. Asaph's), for Powys; St. David's, for Dyfed (or Dimetia); Llanbadarn, for the principality of Keredigion (or Cardigan); and Llandaff for Gwent. Four of these remain, and are still the four episcopal sees of Wales. Llanbadarn became merged in the diocese of St. David's; and two other sees—Llanafanvaur in Brecknock, and Margam in Glamorganshire—existed but for a very brief period, and were merged, the former in the diocese of Llanbadarn, and eventually of St. David's; the latter in that of Llandaff.

Caerleon, in the Roman period, may well have been an archiepiscopal see; but there is no direct evidence that it was so; and the traditions on which the assertion was founded are not met with earlier than the twelfth century. The succession of its bishops is said to have ceased altogether when the bishoprics of the principalities arose; and this was a transition from Roman to British organisation—from the bishop residing in the capital of the Roman province to the bishops of the new territorial divisions. It was not a change from one metropolitan see to another; although this was the assertion on which St. David's, in the twelfth century, rested its chief claim to a metropolitanical dignity. Each new see was apparently founded by the energy of one man, who became the great saint of his district (see the Second Part of each Cathedral), and who was revered therein more or less exclusively. The period between the years 400 and 700 abounds in native Welsh teachers and saints; and the most

important of these were founders of episcopal sees, round, and connected with which, they established those great semi-monastic communities which rank among the most noticeable peculiarities of the British Church. The principal churches in each diocese seem to have been also founded by the saint himself, and are those which have received his name.^a Even Saint David, whose shrine afterwards became the chief place of pilgrimage for all true Welshmen, has not a single church dedicated to him throughout the whole of North Wales.

§ 4. The number of Welsh saints whose existence is sufficiently authenticated, and such facts in connection with them as may be safely received—as, for example, the many churches founded by the greatest of them in their respective districts, and the vast bodies of disciples gathered round the chief teachers in the monasteries or “colleges”—prove the activity of the Church in Wales at this period. There was a close connection with Ireland, with “West Wales” (what is now Devon and Cornwall), and with Brittany. In Ireland especially the monastery founded by St. David (see that Cathedral, Part II.) had a great reputation. Many of those afterwards known as famous Irish saints are said to have repaired to it for study and for the sake of St. David’s teaching; and, however this may be, there is sufficient evidence that St. David, during the latter half of the sixth century, greatly influenced the Christianity of Ireland. According to the remarkable document of Tirechanus (circ. 750), which divides the Irish saints into three orders,^e the first, “Sanctissimus” (shining like the sun), were those who took St. Patrick for their model, and followed his institutions. There followed a time during which faith was weakened in Ireland; and the Welsh Church, under the auspices of St.

^a See, for distinct evidence of this, Rees, ‘Essay on the Welsh Saints.’

^e A translation of this document will be found in Dr. Todd’s ‘Life of St. Patrick,’ p. 88. It is accepted by him as perfectly authentic.

David, St. Gildas, and St. Cadoc, undertook its restoration. The second order of saints, "Sanctior" (shining like the moon), were those who received their instruction and their Order of mass from these three Welshmen. To this second order belong St. Columba of Iona and the numerous Irish missionaries who spread themselves throughout Europe from the end of the sixth to that of the eighth century; and from Iona, as we know, came the teachers of the Scottish Gael and Picts, besides those first bishops of Northumbria who restored the faith in that English kingdom after the departure of Paulinus (A.D. 633) and the extinction of the Christianity introduced by him. A link is thus distinctly established between the teaching of St. David at Menevia and that of the Northumbrian Church (to which belonged the great St. Cuthbert) as it existed during the short period between the reconversion of the kingdom by Aidan of Iona (A.D. 635) and the Council of Whitby (A.D. 664), when the so-called orthodox or Roman system was adopted, and the Scottish bishop resigned his see.

§ 5. Whatever may have been the case with the see of Caerleon during the Roman period, there is no evidence that any one of the existing Welsh sees enjoyed at any time a true primatial dignity. The bishops of the several sees, probably a single bishop in each case, consecrated to the other sees on a vacancy. It is true that Asser (A.D. 884), and the Dimetian form of Howel Dda's laws (928), call the Bishop of St. David's "archbishop;" but the same title is given in the 'Annales Cambriae' and the 'Brut,' and also by Nennius, to the Bishop of Bangor (A.D. 768-809); and in the 'Liber Landavensis,' archiepiscopal jurisdiction is vaguely claimed for the see of Llandaff. St. David, in the Llandaff histories, is only known as one of an equal triad—Teilo, David, and Padarn. It was not apparently until the eleventh century that a direct claim was made for the jurisdiction of David and his successors, not over Wales only, but over the whole of Britain. This first appears in Ricemarch's 'Life of St.

David;' but "the very arguments of Giraldus and of the Chapter of St. David's on behalf of the metropolitical power of that see, raked together with difficulty in the end of the twelfth century, show that no such power had existed within the memory of men at that time, and that no real evidence was to be found to indicate its having ever existed at all."^f A traditional recollection of the metropolitanship of Caerleon (if that ever existed) may have led to the putting forth of such a claim by the later sees; and there was very likely in Wales, as in Ireland, a confusion between the term "ard-epsco" (or its equivalent in Cymric) and the Latin "archiepiscopus." "Ard-epsco" is, in Irish, "chief" or "eminent" bishop, as 'ard-ri' is "chief king," and "ard-fili" "chief poet."^g But the personal distinction of the person so named is in all cases signified, and not any peculiar dignity. There is no trace at any time in Wales "of any system resembling the Irish and Scottish (of government by abbots, with bishops as subordinate officers, discharging episcopal functions, but without jurisdiction), or, indeed, of any other system whatever than that of a diocesan episcopate."^h

§ 6. The British churches gradually assimilated to, and fell into communion with, the English Church, as the power of the English kings made itself more and more felt in the different provinces. The Britons of Damnonia adopted the Roman Easter after the letter addressed to their King Geraint by Aldhelm of Sherborne in 705.ⁱ About A.D. 755 the

^f Haddan and Stubbs' 'Councils,' i. p. 149.

^g Todd's 'Life of St. Patrick,' p. 16.

^h Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 143.

ⁱ The Cornish, or Damnonian, bishops seem, long before this letter was written, to have been on closer terms than the Welsh with the English Church. It is probable that the two British bishops whom Wini, the English bishop of Wessex, joined with himself for the ordination of Ceadda in A.D. 664, were Cornish. (Bede, H. E. iii. 28; and see Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 124.) The limits of Damnonia were gradually narrowed; and after Egbert's

North Welsh adopted the same system, at the persuasion of Elbodg, Bishop of Bangor; and the change was made in South Wales in 777. About a century later occurs Hubert "Sais," the Saxon, as Bishop of Menevia (St. David's), who is said to have been consecrated by Æthelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, "an act which appears to mark a complete, though perhaps a temporary, subjection on the part of the Church of St. David's, and it would seem to be connected with the submission of the South Welsh princes to the West Saxon monarch (Alfred), and the desire of the Menevian clergy to enlist him on their side."^k Two other bishops of St. David's were consecrated by Ælfric of Canterbury between 995 and 1005; and three bishops of Llandaff were consecrated by Archbishops of Canterbury between the years 972 and 1022. These cases distinctly indicate a certain domination of Canterbury—a domination which, like that of the English kings over the princes of Wales, might at any time be roused into activity, and was then little likely to be resisted with success. (See 'St. David's Cathedral,' Part II.) The fact seems to be that the Welsh Church, although in full communion with the English, maintained a precarious independence until after the Norman Conquest. Norman bishops were then intruded into each Welsh see—for the history, see the second part of each Cathedral—and the ancient British Church became fully merged in that of England.

victory over the Cornish and Danes in 835, Devonshire became more closely attached to Wessex. Cornwall, between 833 and 900, was still a separate principality, but was subject, ecclesiastically and civilly, to the English Church and king. From 931 the British bishop of Cornwall was a recognised suffragan of Canterbury; the first English bishop of Cornwall appears about 950, when the British succession ceased; and about 1026 the Cornish see was merged in that of Crediton or Devon. The united see was transferred to Exeter in 1050.

^k Jones and Freeman's 'Hist. of St. David's,' p. 262.

The history of the existing Church in England begins therefore, with the coming of Augustine in A.D. 596. Christianity, and an organised Church, had been introduced in this country long before, and survived. But the British Church, after losing all its distinctive peculiarities, was gradually absorbed in the Church of the conquering races, and, like that, was ruled from Canterbury.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



PART I.

History and Details.

I. LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL,^a as it now exists, is something more than a restored church. Its most striking external features, the south-western tower and spire, were only represented in the ancient cathedral by

^a Two books must here be mentioned, with an acknowledgment of the free use which has been made of them—‘Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, with an Essay towards a History of the Fabric,’ by Edward A. Freeman, London, 1850; and ‘Some Account of the Condition of the Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral, chiefly from 1575 to the present time,’ by the Bishop of Llandaff; London, 1860. Mr. Freeman’s was the first scientific account of the cathedral; and all succeeding writers on the subject are necessarily indebted to him in no small degree. The Bishop of Llandaff describes at length, and with very interesting details, the changes of the building since it was first allowed to fall into decay, and the restoration, so far as that had advanced in 1860.

Browne Willis’s ‘Survey of Llandaff Cathedral’ (1718), supplies some valuable documents, and is the best authority for the condition of the church early in the eighteenth century. Willis’s original MS. (with an unpublished Appendix) is preserved in the Bodleian Library (No. xxxvi. of his folio MSS.) The Appendix contains fifty-six letters from one correspondent,

tower considerably lower and less enriched than that on the north-west. There was no spire. In other respects, the external outlines have undergone change; especially by the addition of a lofty pointed roof to the chapter house. The appearance of the church, therefore, differs greatly from that which it presented when in its perfect condition at the end of the fifteenth century. But, in the course of the restoration, every ancient portion throughout the cathedral has been most scrupulously retained; and remaining details have supplied authority for the renewal of such parts of the building as had altogether perished. The entire restoration is one of the most remarkable and, in all those parts of the church which are not entirely new, one of the most conservative, which has ever been carried out in this country. That of Ely is, of course, far more splendid. But no British cathedral had undergone such changes, or had remained for so long a time in neglect and ruin, as Llandaff when the restoration was first undertaken. It has been truly said that no such work has been effected, since Lichfield Cathedral was restored by Bishop Hacket after it had been shattered and half-ruined by the forces of the Parliament.

In order, therefore, to understand the existing cathe-

Thomas Davies, between 1720 and 1745, on the state of Llandaff Cathedral. There is also a statement drawn up by Willis himself, addressed to a Dr. Saunders, and describing the wretched condition of the whole building. The organ and organist, he says, had "breathed their last about thirty years before."

dral of Llandaff, it is first necessary to describe briefly the changes which the building has undergone from the foundation of the Norman church in the twelfth century to the completion of the late restoration.

II. Urban, the first Bishop of Llandaff (1107-1133), appointed under Norman influence, after translating from the island of Bardsey the relics of St. Dubricius, founder of the see of Llandaff, proceeded to rebuild his cathedral. The church which Urban found existing was very small; and its entire length (including what seems to have been an eastern apse) did not exceed 40 feet.^b The new cathedral

^b "Et prædictus Antistes" (Urbanus) "vir bonæ memoriæ, videns loci parvitatem, in longitudine xxviii. pedum, in latitudine xv., altitudine xx., et cum duabus alis ex utraque parte, admodum parvæ quantitatis et altitudinis, et cum porticu xii. pedum longitudinis et latitudinis, rotundæ molis; consilio Radulphi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopi" (Ralph d'Escures, translated from Rochester to Canterbury in 1114, died 1122), "et totius cleri et populi ejusdem, cepit monasterium majus construere in honore Petri Apostoli, et sanctorum Confessorum Dubricii, Teliani, Oudoeci Millesimo centesimo vigesimo anno, xviii. cal. Maii mensis" (April 14, 1120., "et in quarta feria passionis, et acceptis sibi et ecclesiæ suæ his literis Domini Archiepiscopi, cum data benedictione et perdonatione omnibus auxiliaturis, inceptum opus." (Liber Landavensis, p. 83; in vita S. Dubricii.) The addition of St. Peter to the Welsh saints, who had been the patrons of the former church, must be regarded as the act of a conqueror, just as Bernard, the first Norman Bishop of St. David's, placed his cathedral under the patronage of St. Andrew in addition to that of St. David. (There was a Llandaff tradition that the cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul; and the royal grant, printed in Browne Willis, p. 163, mentions the "gloriosos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum in quorum honore ecclesia Landavensis ædificata et constructa existit.") The small church removed by Bishop

was begun in 1120, and was probably completed by Bishop Urban, although of this there is no record. Indeed, the foundation of the Norman church is the only fact relating to the architectural history of the building which has been recorded at all. The ‘*Liber Landavensis*,’ a volume of documents relating to the see, was drawn up about the year 1133—shortly before the death of Urban.^c Llandaff has found no subsequent chronicler; and for the later history of the church we are dependent altogether on an examination of the actual building.

Urban’s cathedral, although much larger than the British church, seems to have been of very moderate dimensions. In the Early English period, the church

Urban “may in one respect have equalled the most gorgeous structures of succeeding ages; it was doubtless the best offering its founders could make To national feeling it must have spoken in a manner which its successor could never rival. It is a strange and not altogether pleasant thought, and one in which Celt and Saxon may singularly unite, that the greatest advances in architectural skill and splendour in both countries alike were the result of a foreign occupation; that not only the castle, but the minster itself were, in fact, badges of national misery and humiliation.”—Freeman, *Archit. of Llandaff Cathedral*, p. 46.

^c The ‘*Liber Landavensis*,’ sometimes called ‘*Llyfr Teilo*,’ ‘the Book of Teilo,’ was edited in 1840 for the Welsh MSS. Society by the Rev. W. J. Rees; from MSS. in the libraries of Hengwrt and of Jesus College, Oxford. Since that time the original MS., which formerly belonged to Llandaff, has been discovered. It is now in the possession of P. B. Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, near Doncaster; and the extracts printed in Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs’ ‘*Councils*,’ vol. i., are given on the authority of this MS. For a further notice of it see Appendix B to Part I.

was extended westward as far as the present west front. The chapter house, also Early English, was built somewhat later. During the First Decorated period (perhaps in the episcopate of Bishop Brews or De Bruce—1265-1287), the Lady Chapel was added; the great arch, which opens to it from the presbytery, being a retained portion of Bishop Urban's Norman work. The presbytery was remodelled, and, in fact, rebuilt, in the Second Decorated period; and, somewhat later, the walls of the aisles, in both choir and nave, were (nearly throughout) rebuilt. The Perpendicular north-west tower was erected by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, paternal uncle of Henry VII. The south-west tower (Early English) remained unaltered.

The cathedral, which thus represented the architectural development of many centuries, exhibited a very unusual and far from pleasing outline. There were no transepts—(if transeptal towers were ever raised above the roof, they can have existed but for a short time)—and no central tower; and the long lines of wall and roof extended unbroken throughout nave and choir. The Lady Chapel, somewhat lower, projected eastward. The type was rather that of a large parish church than of a cathedral; although the interior, and especially the view from the west end of the nave, must always have been dignified and impressive. But, apparently about the middle of the sixteenth century, the church of Llandaff was allowed to fall into decay, and it suffered more from the neglect and spoliation which attended the religious changes of

that period, than any other cathedral in this country. It was in a state of absolute ruin in 1575, when Bishop Blethin, addressing his chapter, prayed their active assistance for the church, “ne tempore nostro funditus pereat.”^d In order to procure funds for needful repairs, the bishop proposed to diminish the number of persons on the foundation—“the first suggestion of a course of policy which eventually led to the entire suppression of the choir and choral service, the destruction of the organ, the forgetfulness of the fact that the prebendaries were all residentiaries, and ultimately to the performance of all the cathedral and parochial duties of Llandaff and Whitechurch being imposed upon the two Vicars Choral.”^e The remains of the residentiary houses served, when Bishop Blethin addressed his chapter, for stables and pigsties.^f Twenty years later, the church is described in the Act Books of the Chapter, as “digged and delved [in] pits and

^d ‘Account of the Fabric,’ by the Bp. of Llandaff, p. 8. Bp. Blethin, in his speech, asserts that the Cathedral had been “virtuosa liberalitate Principum sumptuose ædificatam, magna librorum, vestimentorum, vasorum, argenti et auri, copia ditatam, magnis ædificiis perpolitam, multis Prebendariorum domibus circumdatam ac Vicariorum Curia adornatam.”

^e ‘Account,’ &c., p. 9. Whitechurch, then a part of the parish, is now a separate ecclesiastical district. It had no separate church until Bishop Field’s time (1619-1627.)

^f “Nullam, ut dudum ad nostras pervenit aures,” says the bishop, “huic ecclesiæ adjunctam remanendi domum reliquistis. In ædibus Deo quondam dicatis, quas amplius ad alios usus humanos transferre vobis non licuisset, quibus Christi ministri ac dispensatores Dei semper cohabitarent, pascuntur equi, saginantur vestri, proh dolor, porci.”

unpaved, being more like a desolate and profane place than a house of prayer and holy exercises." Bishop Godwin (1601-1617) the author of the book, '*De Præsulibus Angliæ*,' did something for the building and for the see,—not, he hints, without considerable diminution of his own "substance." The revenues of the cathedral were seized in 1649,^a and the building was of course entirely neglected until after the Restoration. Some slight repairs were then made; but at the end of the century it was clearly in a state of great danger. In 1697, Dr. Bull, then Archdeacon of Llandaff, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's, calls it "our sad and miserable cathedral." In 1717, the south tower was "open within from the top to the bottom." At this time, probably in consequence of the ruinous state of the church, the removal of the see to Cardiff was talked of.^b Storms shook the building;

^a The Chapter library was then dispersed, and some of the books were burnt, according to Browne Willis. "The cavaliers of the country, and the wives of several sequestered clergymen, were invited in bitter mockery to the castle of Cardiff by the rebels on a cold winter's day, to warm themselves by the fire, which was then made with a great heap of Common Prayer Books, as well as a portion of our Collection."—Speech of the Dean of Llandaff at the Festival, held July 13, 1869, in commemoration of the completion of the towers.

In the '*Act Book of the Cathedral*' (vol. i. p. 319), A.D. 1681, is the following order concerning the Chapter Library, which existed at that time:—"That Mr. T. Davies, junior, V.C. of this cathedral, have a key at his own proper cost and charges to enter into the Library, and another key to go into the new house belonging to this Chapter, he first having taken his oath not to embezzle any of the books belonging to the same Chapter."

^b In the first volume of the '*Archæologia Cambrensis*' (1846),

and, in 1721, it was determined to appeal to the country for help, and a brief was obtained for this purpose. Meanwhile the ruin went on; roofs fell,—much of that of the north aisle had been destroyed in 1720, the battlements of the north tower having fallen on it; that of the south tower fell in 1723; and, in the same year, “about fifty feet at the west end of the nave.” The choir service was now removed into the Lady Chapel. The western entrance was closed; and the western half of the nave became a picturesque ruin, entirely open to the sky, in which condition it remained until the restoration of this part of the church was begun in 1857.

III. The service which had been removed into the Lady Chapel was not choral. In 1691, the Archdeacon and Chapter (probably wanting funds) had voted that “the quire singing be put down and discontinued.” The schoolmaster was appointed to give out the singing-psalms, with a small yearly allowance; and this arrangement continued in force until the appointment of the present Bishop, in 1849. Some repairs were made to the Lady Chapel; but, about 1732, Mr. Wood, of Bath, was summoned by the Chapter to “survey the church and estimate the repairs.” The result of Mr. Wood’s survey was the

Mr. G. G. Francis, of Swansea, has printed a letter on this proposed transfer, full of indignant feeling, dated March 17, 1717, and signed “J. D.” The writer enumerates and refutes “the chief and most plausible reasons handed about and urged in behalf of this translation,” describes it as “needless,” and points out the ill-effect of such a precedent.

erection, under his auspices, of the remarkable Italian temple which, until the beginning of the restoration in 1843, occupied the presbytery, choir, and part of the nave of the ancient cathedral. The work was advancing steadily in 1736, when Bishop Harris, writing to an ancestor of the late Lord Rolle, says, "We propose to take down the two steeples which at present serve as a western front to the two aisles, for they are very ruinous, and to raise a tower over the front of the nave, and then to finish with a rustic porch."ⁱ In the same year the Rev. Thomas Davies writes to the antiquary Browne Willis, describing the progress of the church, which, he says, "as far as 'tis ceiled and plaistered, which is something beyond the west end of the choir, looks exceeding fine, and is a very stately and beautiful room. . . . When it is finished, it will (in the judgment of most people who have seen the plan) be a very neat and elegant church."^k It remained, however, for about seventeen years closed with boards at its western end; and when it was completed, in 1752, there were no funds for adding the tower and rustic porch to which Bishop Harris had looked forward as the crowning glories of the edifice. The sketch overleaf shows this western front, not as it ever existed, but as the ingenious Mr. Wood had designed it. The actual front was of similar but more humble character. It was sur-

ⁱ 'Account of the Fabric,' by the Bishop of Llandaff, p. 17.

^k The letter is printed at length in the Bishop of Llandaff's 'Account,' pp. 19, 20.

mounted by a pediment, at either end of which rose a base, carrying an urn. These urns are now in the garden at Bishop's Court.



Proposed End of Italian Temple.

It would be unreasonable to criticise the “exceeding fine” construction of Mr. Wood, or to find fault with the Chapter which directed his operations. Both

he and they followed the taste of that age, which looked on Gothic architecture as altogether barbarous, and could therefore see nothing admirable or worthy of preservation in the ruined and desolate cathedral. The west front of the Italian "room" crossed the ancient nave at the eastern side of the fourth bay counting from the west, where the flagging, which represents the thickness of the wall, interrupts the encaustic tiles. Within, the Gothic details were entirely hidden by new walls and plaster; and a sort of interior porch projected at the east end of the presbytery. Some of the details are described in the letter of the Rev. Thomas Davies; and an engraving in the book of the Bishop of Llandaff gives a sufficiently clear idea of the general appearance. Mr. Wood can have been but a sorry disciple of Sir Christopher Wren; yet the Italian temple of Llandaff was perhaps superior to many "stately and beautiful rooms" of similar character which still survive, and were erected at much greater cost.

The towers remained untouched. But the south-western, or Early English tower, had become highly dangerous, and in 1756 the Chapter ordered that part of it should be taken down. This was accordingly done in great part; but a small remaining fragment was not cleared away until 1859. Jasper Tudor's (the north-western) tower had lost its battlements. A sum of 180*l.* was expended on it in 1786.¹

¹ In the Ellison Gallery, South Kensington Museum, there is a picture of Llandaff Cathedral, by Paul Sandby (born 1725,

IV. Such, for nearly a century, was the condition of Llandaff Cathedral. The western bays of the nave were roofless and in ruin; Mr. Wood's church extended to the eastern wall of the presbytery; and the Lady Chapel, although not ruinous, had also been subjected to the improver's hand—a new and debased east window having been devised, among other changes, in 1740. The first movement in the direction of complete restoration was made by the Precentor, the Rev. H. Douglas, who, for two years (1835, 1836), placed his small dividend at the disposal of the Chapter. This money was spent on the restoration of the east window of the Lady Chapel; but much was not done until the zeal of the Chapter and of the Diocese was called forth at a meeting assembled in 1843 for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to the Rev. William Bruce Knight, Chancellor of the Diocese, and afterwards Dean of the Cathedral; an office which had slept since the twelfth century, and was revived in his person.^m The state of the Cathedral was then pointed out, and dwelt upon with much

died 1809). This exhibits the west front and north side of the church, as they existed about the middle of the last century. A considerable portion of the south-west tower still existed, and the Early English windows are distinctly presented. From the artist's stand-point it was not perceptible that the western part of the nave was roofless.

^m The only Deans whose names are recorded are Joseph and Esni. Browne Willis (p. 76) says he cannot determine when this office was laid aside; but he thinks it may have been disused under Bishop Henry, who lived fifty years before Urban. It was revived by the Act.

eloquence. Considerable sums of money were collected, and although Dean Bruce Knight, who was most eager for the work, lived to see no more than the restoration of the Lady Chapel completed, his successor, Dean Conybeare, brought equal ardour to the cause, and had the happiness of seeing the greater part of the church restored to its ancient beauty and condition. The Italian Temple was entirely removed. The Lady Chapel, the presbytery, choir, and a portion of the nave, were most carefully renewed; and on the 16th of April, 1857, all this eastern portion of the cathedral was reopened for Divine service. The choir of Gloucester Cathedral attended; and choral music was heard in the Cathedral of Llandaff for the first time since 1691.

At the entertainment which followed the reopening, the present Dean (then the Archdeacon) of Llandaff insisted on the necessity for completing the work by the restoration of the remaining part of the nave and of the towers. On the spot 2775*l.* was collected.ⁿ The fund rapidly increased. The repair of the nave was at once begun, and foundations of a new south-western tower were deeply laid. Before the end of the year 1860 the work was well advanced. It continued without intermission until the completion in 1869. By that time the nave had been entirely restored; the north-western tower had received its

ⁿ On this occasion, the first offering (500*l.*) was made by J. Bruce Pyree, Esq., of Duffryn, brother of the Very Rev. Bruce Knight, late Dean of Llandaff. His example was contagious.

coronal of pinnacles; and the south-western, with its spire, had risen from the ground as we now see it. A second reopening festival was celebrated in July, 1869.

Such is the history of Llandaff; a history of which a knowledge is absolutely needful for a due appreciation of the present beautiful cathedral. This is practically a new church, with such internal arrangements as might well be copied in many a cathedral of greater size and prominence. The working architect throughout has been Mr. John Prichard, who began by restoring the east window of the Lady Chapel. When, afterwards, the general restoration was undertaken, Mr. T. H. Wyatt, who had repaired the ceiling of the Italian temple, considered that he had a claim on the Chapter. He and Mr. Prichard were accordingly appointed joint architects, on equal terms. At the end of about nine years the work was placed entirely in the hands of the latter, who from the beginning had been the real architect. With some trifling exceptions, to be pointed out as we proceed, Mr. Prichard is responsible for the whole of the new work, including the design of the south-west tower. Llandaff is fortunate in possessing a resident architect of such excellence, to whom the restoration has been a labour of love, and who brought to it the knowledge, skill, and refinement which have made it something beyond a dry reproduction of ancient details. The entire outlay has been more than 30,000*l*. The work "reflects undying honour on all who have

had a share in it; on the bishop, on the three successive deans, on the country and diocese at large. There may be other churches which, in some points, come nearer to ideal perfection, but then there is none which has in the same way risen to a new life out of a state of such seemingly hopeless ruin."

V. The peculiar ground-plan of Llandaff Cathedral has already been mentioned. Leaving for the present further notice of it, and of the general exterior, we approach the western front, descending towards it from the high table-land on which the city—so we are bound to call the village of Llandaff—is placed. The cathedral stands at the foot of a steep ridge which rises abruptly from the green alluvial meadows through which the Taff winds onward to the sea at Cardiff. The river gives name to Llandaff—the "Church on the Taff"—as it possibly does to Cardiff, the "caer" or castle on the Taff. The hill closes round the cathedral on the south and west; on the other sides it is open to the low ground; but so completely is it nestled beneath the ridge that, in approaching it from the west, only the upper part of the new spire is visible, until we stand above the cathedral, at the edge of the descent. Such a position for a cathedral church is unknown in England; and is, indeed, most rare for any other, except, perhaps, for the churches of some Cistercian monasteries. But in Wales the site of St. David's greatly resembles that of Llandaff. Bangor stands on low ground; and St. Asaph alone is placed high on the ridge of the hill. The earlier history of

Llandaff (see Part II.) and of St. David's, probably explains this unusual choice of site. Although the circumstances attending the foundation of both sees are obscure, it is almost certain that the first church or oratory at either place was attached to a college or community of religious persons ruled by the teachers (St. David and St. Dubricius) who were, or afterwards became, the first bishops of the two South Welsh dioceses. The chief advantages sought by the founders of such communities were shelter and seclusion; and we thus find the cathedrals which arose on the same sites occupying the low protected ground which was best fitted for the huts and rude buildings of an early British convent. The sites of these Welsh cathedrals have never been changed; and it was impossible that important towns should at any time rise around them. In England the places of those sees (such as Crediton, Sherborne, and Dorchester), which from their remote position most nearly resembled the Welsh (although they were chosen for different reasons), were removed, shortly before or after the Norman Conquest, from the open country to large and chief towns.

VI. The plan of the west front of Llandaff Cathedral (see *Frontispiece*)—a gabled centre flanked by towers—has not been changed since the church was extended westward by the builders of the Early English period. As it now exists, the central portion alone is entirely of that date, although portions of the earlier work remain in the lower parts of both towers.

The north-west tower is Perpendicular, with a modern battlement and pinnacles; the south-west, with its spire, is altogether modern. In spite of differences in style, however, the whole composition is very graceful and harmonious; and, as seen from the garden of the deanery, beyond a foreground of trees, is especially picturesque. The pure Early English of the centre is not brought into too sharp contrast with the richer work of the towers. This is most elaborate in the pinnacles and battlements, raised far above the central gable; whilst the lofty spire gives variety of outline to a church of which it is the chief feature, and increases the dignity of the flanking towers, which alone give the character of a cathedral to the exterior of the building.

The details of these towers will be better described with the general exterior (see *post*, § xxiii.). The Early English front has received such restoration as was necessary; but happily it had remained almost perfect after the falling of the nave roofs, and of the south-west tower. Few details were injured; and there was no room for doubt as to the character of such portions as called for renewal. The composition is in three stages. In the lowest is the western portal; the centre contains the three lights of the west window; and, in the highest, is a single light flanked by a blind arcade. This opening, it is probable, formerly gave light and air to the space above the nave roof.

The portal (Plate I.) on either side of which the

wall is perfectly unadorned, is very unusual in form and design, but is of no remarkable beauty. The outer arch is round; but the details prove conclusively that the portal is Early English; and, "for the position in which it is actually placed, the round head gives a more suitable proportion than a pointed one."^o The doorway itself, set deep within this outer arch, is formed by two narrow round-headed arches, which were never divided by a central shaft, as is evident from the construction of the key-stone containing a vesica in the tympanum. In this vesica is an episcopal figure, probably meant to represent St. Dubricius or St. Teilo. Detached shafts, banded and ornamented in an unusual manner, and having richly-sculptured capitals, carry the inner mouldings of the portal—plain filleted rolls. The window arches in the second stage are pointed. That in the centre is the highest, and the three lights are divided by the narrow arch of a blind arcade. The shafts from which the arches spring are doubly banded. The composition thus fills the entire breadth of the front, and the crown of the central light rises to the base of the string course dividing this stage from the one above it. Three small sculptured flowers are fixed in the wall on either side of this central light, relieving its plain surface. The masonry of this wall, and that filling the blind arches, curves outward in order apparently to give strength to a treatment necessarily weakened by an internal

^o Freeman, p. 13.

passage leading from tower to tower. In the third stage the single light is pointed, and on either side are three blank trefoil-headed arches, "adapted to the shape of the gable, so that a cusp of each is lost on the side nearest the central window."^p Above, again, in the crown of the gable, is a single trefoiled arch, containing a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, the right hand upraised in benediction, the left supporting the Book of Life.^q The cross which now crowns the gable is modern, but is a faithful copy of the original.

This central portion, the west end of the nave, has the great merit of displaying the actual construction simply and distinctly, whilst its several stages show the greatest skill in architectural arrangement, and in the judicious use of ornament.^r The west front of Ripon Cathedral, nearly of the same date, is of similar character. There, also, the gabled centre is the termination of the nave, and is flanked by towers. But

^p Freeman, p. 15.

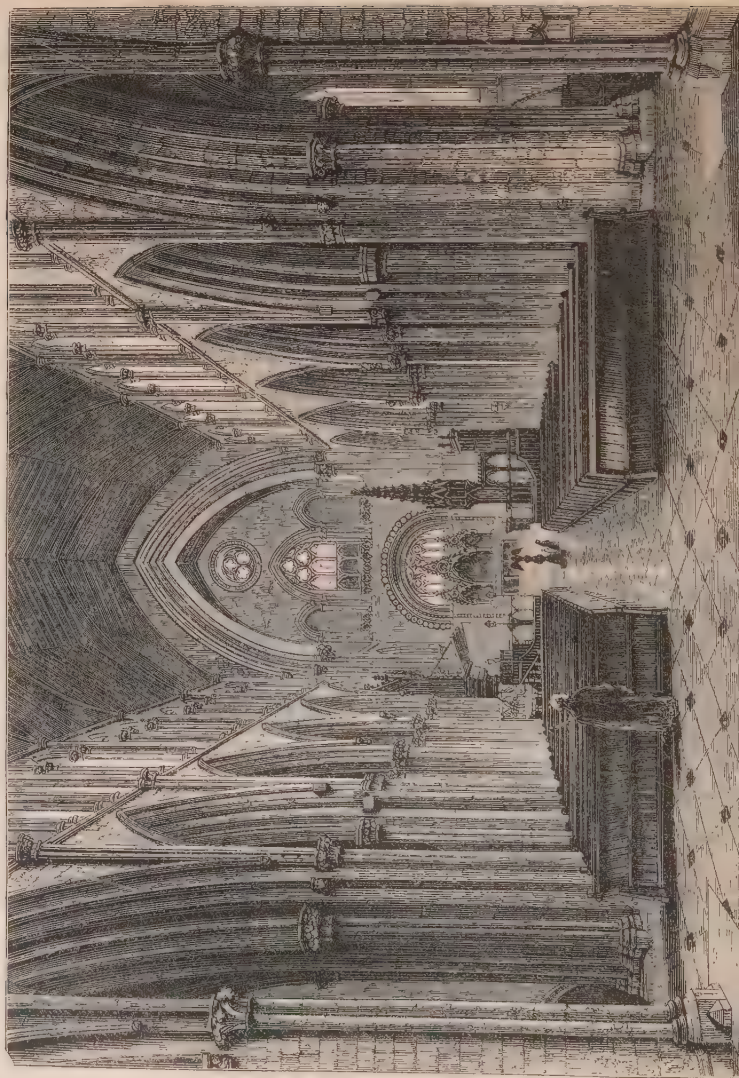
^q For some further remarks on this figure, see Appendix B to Part I.

^r "This façade stands almost by itself among English cathedrals—Ripon being, I believe, the only other exception—as an example at this date of the simple and beautiful arrangement so delighted in by the architects of the previous era. We have here no masking of the real construction by unnatural and ugly pieces of wall, as at Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells: nothing frittered away on unmeaning arcades, as in the two first of those examples; no sacrifice of the queen art to one of its subordinates, as in the third; the architectural construction is not disguised, but ornamented, and ornamented in the most tasteful and judicious manner."—*Freeman*, pp. 12, 13.

pure and beautiful as is the design of Ripon, it is exceeded in grace and variety of arrangement by that of Llandaff. Ripon is on a much larger scale, and the single portal of Llandaff cannot fairly be compared with the triple arches and doorways of the Northern Cathedral. But the upper stages of Ripon, filled with lancet lights, are comparatively flat and unimaginative. The west front of the Church of St. Remigius, at Rheims, before a restoration to which of late years it has been subjected, had, as has been pointed out by the Bishop of Llandaff, some features in which it strongly resembled the west front of this cathedral. The arrangement of the lancet lights with narrow blind arches between them, in the stage above the portal, is identical; and above occurs, as at Llandaff, the wall arcade with a central light, although somewhat differently treated.*

VII. Those alone who remember the condition of Llandaff Cathedral thirty years since, when the western half of the nave was in ruin and the Italian temple

* 'Account of the condition of the Fabric of Llandaff,' &c., p. 2, where will be found an engraving of the west front of St. Remi, "avant sa restauration." The Bishop adds, "the similarity . . . is so striking that it is difficult not to imagine either that the architect of Llandaff was identical with the architect of St. Remi, or that if they were not the same they had some common type, which they adapted to their several works." The latter is no doubt the more probable supposition. Unless the singular portal of Llandaff be regarded as foreign, there is no trace there of those peculiarities of the French early pointed style which are found in other details of the west front of St. Remi.



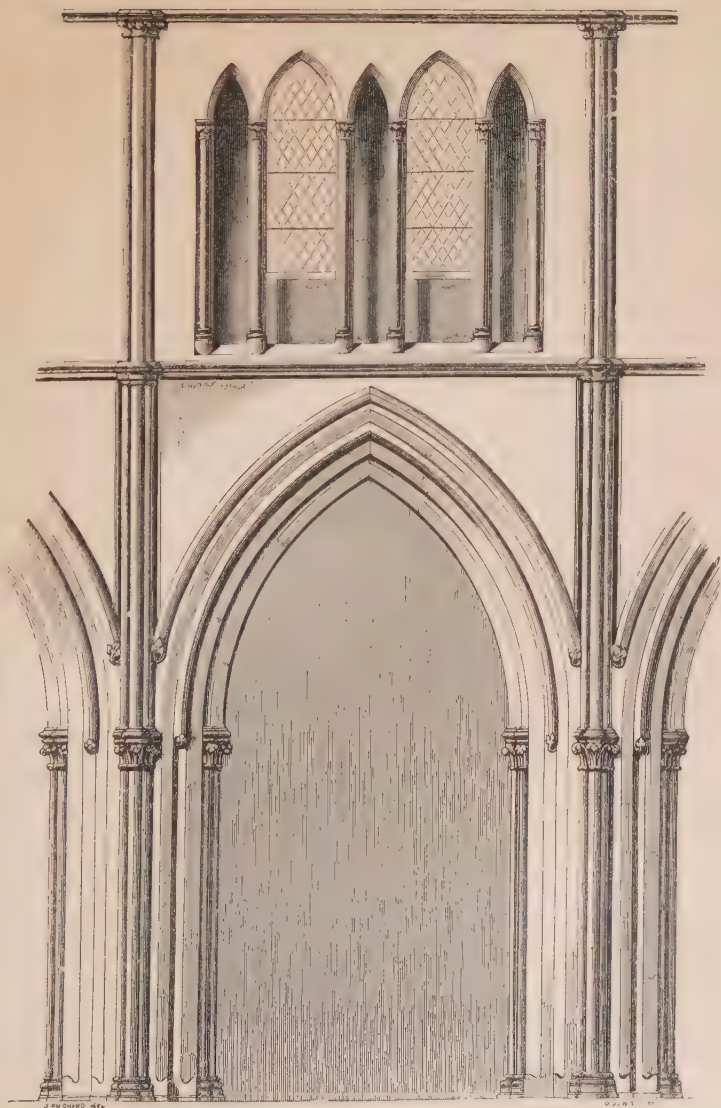
was untouched, can fully appreciate the beauty of the present interior, or estimate the zeal and labour which have produced so excellent a restoration. Standing at the western entrance, the nave, choir, and presbytery open before us, if not precisely in their ancient condition, yet more nearly approaching it than has been the case for at least three centuries (Plate II.). If the exterior of the church has little of that special character which should mark a cathedral, this cannot be said of the interior. The want of transepts is here not evident. The main arcade is of unusual grace and dignity, and the eye is led down the long range, unbroken by a central tower, to the remarkable Norman arch terminating the presbytery, and beyond it to the vaulted roof and east window of the Lady Chapel. The roof is carried throughout at the same elevation, and is unbroken except by a modern arch marking the separation of the choir and presbytery. There is not at present, whatever the ancient arrangement may have been, a closed screen between the nave and the ritual choir. The whole interior is thus open; but the comparatively small scale prevents that long gallery-like appearance which such a cathedral as Exeter, with its unbroken roof and no central tower, would certainly present, were the closed stone choir-screen removed, or even replaced by one of lighter work.

The nave consisted of five bays (counting from the western portal); the choir of three, and the presbytery of two. The distinction between the nave and the ancient ritual choir is marked by the low stone walls

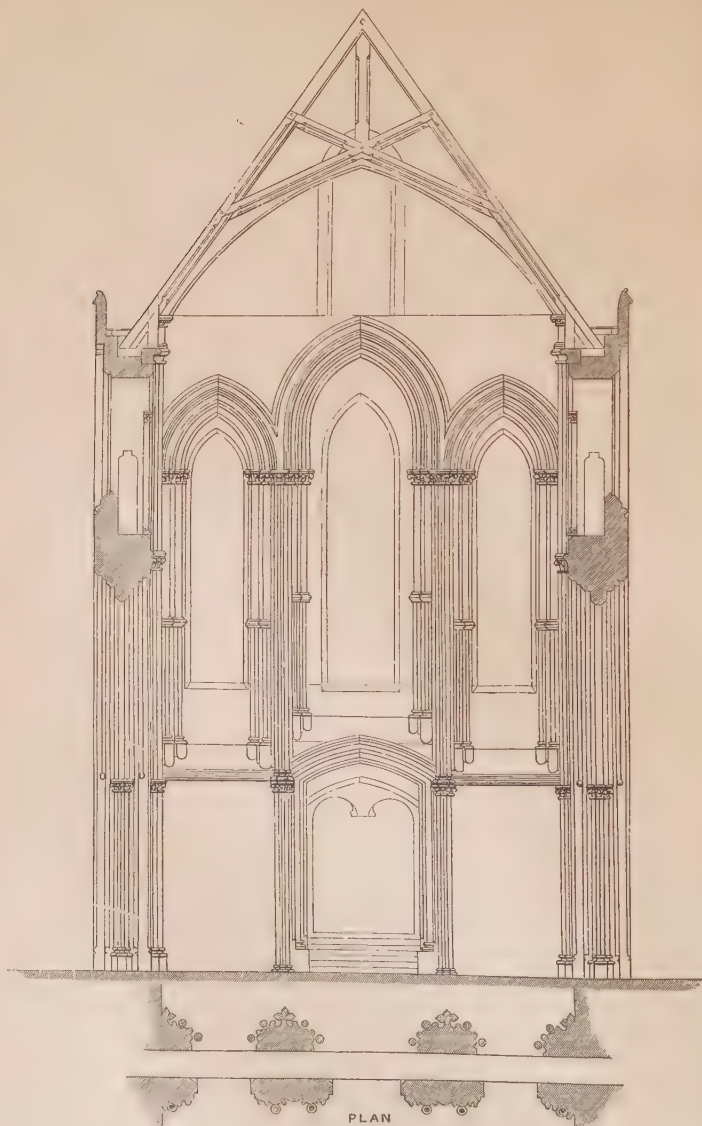
between the piers which divide the latter from the aisles, and by a certain difference in the piers of the arcade (see *post*, § IX.). Both nave and choir (that is, the whole of the church from the west front to the modern arch dividing the choir from the presbytery) are of pure Early English character, and belong to the first half of the thirteenth century, from about 1220.

VIII. The main arcade of both nave and choir is surmounted by a clerestory, within which is a wall passage. There is no triforium. The piers of the *nave* (Plate III., for the plan of the piers see Plate VIII.) are massive, yet by no means heavy; and the sculpture with which the capitals are decorated, sparingly introduced as it is, is of great beauty. "The pier is neither an aggregate of small shafts, nor yet an assemblage of such round a larger central one, but consists of an angular mass with a cluster of three shafts attached to the principal faces. The shafts have the same keel form as those at St. David's, and one or two share the peculiarity of the absence of the neck moulding. The arch is without any moulding, strictly so called, but besides an outer label of the keel form terminating in foliage, another similar one is inserted in an angle of the pier—an arrangement of which I do not know another instance."[†] Some of the shaft capitals were blocked out and prepared for carving, but still remain unsculptured. The carving of those completed deserves

[†] Freeman, p. 28.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL BAY OF NAVE



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. INTERIOR. WEST END OF NAVE

especial notice. The foliage is graceful and has much natural character; but is still restrained by the conventionalism which was not thrown off until the end of the century. In the fourth bay (north side), terminating the inner arch moulding, is a finely-sculptured head, with a linen band passed across the mouth; and opposite, on the south side, is a child looking through a collar which he holds in his hands—a figure almost Florentine in character.

Between the piers rise triple-clustered vaulting shafts, in two stages. The bases of the lower stage rest on the capitals of the inner pier shafts. Their capitals are on a line with the string course at the base of the clerestory, and the second stage springs from them, terminating in capitals above the clerestory.

Although some restoration of the nave piers and arches was required, none of them had been destroyed, and their carving for the most part remained uninjured. But the clerestory had disappeared altogether, except in a single bay on the south side, where it remained so complete as to render the entire restoration quite un conjectural. In each bay the inner arcade consists of two wider arches, separated and flanked by a narrow arch, acutely pointed, and rising nearly to the height of the others. The arches spring from engaged shafts, with carved capitals. At the back of each larger arch the wall is pierced for light.

The arrangement of the west end of the nave is especially good (Plate IV.). There is a descent of several steps from the portal. "This allows much

ment the stalls of the choir, with the organ in the north-eastern arch, occupy two bays instead of one; but it is possible that this may have been the case anciently, and that a rood screen, crossing at the third bay from the presbytery arch, divided the nave from the ritual choir. It is at this bay that the change in the pier shafts occurs. The architectural treatment of the wall backing the choir stalls is very good. In the second bay, on the south side, there is a remarkable difference of level between the bases of the shafts which carry the inner arch moulding, those on the east side being higher than those on the west. This difference cannot well be accounted for. The opposite shafts, on the north side, are even.

The most noticeable feature of the choir, however, is the manner in which the easternmost arches, on either side, are blocked by a solid wall, within which is placed a much smaller arch, of the same Early English character, and no doubt of the same date. In the aisles it is seen that from the western piers of these bays sprang an arch carried across each aisle. The spring of these arches is sufficiently evident; but as the aisle walls have been rebuilt above the windows, no corresponding traces can there be discovered. There is also in the south aisle, at its eastern end, an arch of construction thrown over a lower one which opens into the vaulted bay now serving as a vestibule to the chapter-house. It was suggested by Mr. Freeman, whose theory has been generally accepted, that these points—the closed bay on either side of the choir, the spring of the

destroyed arches, and the closed eastern arch of the south aisle—are remaining traces of a pair of small eastern towers, flanking the choir, while larger ones rose at the termination of the nave. The closed bays were intended to strengthen the piers. All must have been part of the original Early English design; but we have no evidence that these eastern towers were ever completed.^v

X. The *aisles* of both nave and choir were rebuilt, at least from the level of the windows, in the latest Decorated period. The rebuilding or remodelling of these aisles followed that of the presbytery and its aisles; which, as we shall see (§ XIII.), are of somewhat earlier date. In the choir aisles, some portions of the Early English masonry remain—in the easternmost bay of the south aisle (the basement of the S. E. tower), and in the lower part of the two eastern bays of the north aisle. The *windows* (Plate VI.), inserted at the time of remodelling, and restored during the recent works, are of one type, and display reticulated tracery under ogee headings. (For the modern *stained glass* see *post*, § XXI.). In each aisle there are two portals—a larger toward the west, and a smaller more eastward. The smaller are certainly Decorated. The larger are of Norman character, and their date will

^v Freeman, pp. 67, 68. "The position of these towers would have been exactly similar to those at Exeter, except that the latter have the aisle between them and the main body of the church, while these at Llandaff must have risen out of the aisles."—*Id.*



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. AISLE WINDOW. SOUTH SIDE.

be better discussed in describing the exterior of the church (see § xxii.).

XI. The *roofs* of nave, choir, and presbytery are of course entirely modern. They are open roofs of wood, that of the presbytery being somewhat more elaborate than the continuous roof of nave and choir. The propriety of these roofs has been much questioned. It is clear from the fact that the Early English roof shafts reach to the top of the masonry, and do not terminate as would be the case with shafts intended to carry vaulting, at some distance below it, that the original roof was a flat ceiling of wood of the same general character as those which still exist at Peterborough, at St. Alban's, and (somewhat altered in the fourteenth century from its original form and pitch) at Ely.² We have indeed no evidence that such a ceiling was ever completed at Llandaff: but there can be no doubt as to the intention of the thirteenth century builders. Mr. Freeman insists that the new roof should have reproduced this flat ceiling—not only on the principle of faithful restoration, but because “the carrying out of verticality by contrast so conspicuous in this mode of roofing produces a much greater effect of height, and is a better development of the Gothic principle than the high-pitched timber roof added to the walls without any æsthetical connection

² At the west end, “the ledge for the ceiling to rest upon is distinctly visible, and while the masonry below is of ashlar, that above, which would have been concealed by the ceiling, is of rubble.”—*Freeman*, p. 30.

with them.”^a The student may well be left to form his own conclusions. It should be remembered, however, that the great height of Ely and Peterborough prevents the flat ceiling from pressing on the eye, as it certainly would at a lower elevation. A flat roof was only adopted by Norman or thirteenth-century builders when the space to be covered was wider than their skill enabled them to vault with stone, or when for any other reason a vault was impossible or undesirable. It is true that the present roof has no connection with the shafts or roofing arrangements of the ancient walls;^b but whether the Early English builders would have rejected it, had such a construction been within their power, may fairly remain an open question.

The *aisle roofs* in both nave and choir are also new, and the stone arches which now cross each bay have been introduced in connection with external buttresses (see § XXII.).

XII. Of the modern work in this part of the cathedral, the stalls, the organ, the pulpit, and the font may here be mentioned. The stained glass throughout the cathedral is described in § XXI.; and the monuments, ancient and modern, in § XX.

A low screen of wood, the base of which is inlaid

^a Page 31.

^b It has, however, principles which were especially designed to be suited to, and to start from, the existing shafts. It should be added that Mr. Prichard, the designer of the roof, does not believe that the original ceiling was flat, except over the westernmost bay, between the towers.

with monograms and texts, separates the choir from the nave. The *stalls*, which occupy two bays, are, like the Bishop's throne and the base of the screen, inlaid with variously coloured woods—a mode of decoration which is open to serious objection, and which hardly produces sufficient effect to reward the great labour expended on it. In itself the work is excellent, as is the general design. Small figures of the Apostles are introduced between the sub-stalls. The Bishop's throne, at the east end of the south side, has a lofty and enriched canopy, terminated by a finial, the form of which, that of the head of a pastoral staff—is not to be commended. Figures of the four Doctors of the Latin Church, and those of some Anglican Reformers are introduced in portions of the canopy. The larger panels, east and west, represent (E.) St. Paul preaching to the “Men of Athens”—and (W.) Our Lord's Command to St. Peter—“Feed My Sheep.” In front of the desk is a sculptured panel with the dispersion of the Apostles—according to the command “Go ye and teach all nations.” All this stall-work, designed by Mr. Prichard, has been executed by workmen living at Llandaff, and is of very great merit. The principal wood used is teak.

The *Organ*, on the north side of the choir, is by Gray and Davison, and was built under the superintendence of Sir Frederick A. Gore Ouseley, Bart. The trumpet stops project at right angles into the choir in a manner but recently introduced in this country—but which has long been used at Seville

and in other Spanish cathedrals. It is asserted that the sound is more generally distributed by this arrangement; but the effect to those who sit opposite is somewhat overpowering. It is hardly fair to complain that the projecting pipes are unsightly.* At least they tell their own story plainly enough. The front of the organ, of teak wood, is carved and inlaid (in bar wood and ebony) with the words—"O all ye birds of the air, O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord and glorify him for ever. Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in his sanctuary—Praise ye the Lord."

All traces of former organs had long disappeared when that which now exists was completed and opened in September, 1861. An organ had been given to the cathedral after the Restoration by the Lady Kemeys of Cefn Mabley—but when Browne Willis described Llandaff in 1717 some broken pipes were all that remained of this instrument. The musical portion of the service was left to the voices of the school children, under the leading of the bass-viol of their master.

The *Pulpit* on the north side, is of Caen stone, with shafts of various marbles. In the panels are figures from designs by Woolner, representing Moses with the tables of the law, David, John the Baptist, and St. Paul. These figures are unconventional, and very striking. David is imagined as having just awakened a strange tone upon his harp, which carries his soul into an unseen world. His dress is from the Nineveh

marbles,—and he treads on a sling and pebbles without noticing them,—an indication that his youthful simplicity has passed away. St. John the Precursor appears full of awe, and announcing the coming of the Saviour. He wears the Arab haik of camel's hair. At his feet are the reeds of the Jordan. St. Paul the "Expounder" is preaching the word of truth. He tramples on a broken sword headed by the Roman eagle, to show his scorn for his former life.

The *Font*, on the south side of the nave, was designed by Mr. Seddon (the partner of Mr. Prichard), and was given to the cathedral by the Very Rev. T. Williams, the present (1871) Dean. The sculptures in the arcade round the bowl represent subjects from the history of Noah, treated to some extent after the manner of the thirteenth-century sculptures, representing the same subjects, in the chapter-house at Salisbury. The base moulding is carved with a net enclosing fishes. The work deserves careful attention.

XIII. The arch which divides the choir from the presbytery is, as has been said, entirely modern, although in preparing its foundations the bases of Norman shafts were discovered, indicating that a Norman arch once existed in the same position. The *Presbytery* itself is of two bays; and entering it, we pass into a portion of the church differing in date, (though hardly in general character) from the choir and nave, and presenting some very difficult architectural problems. In whatever condition the presbytery may have been during the Early English period,

(when the nave and choir were constructed) the two bays which it comprises were rebuilt when the Decorated style had become fully developed—probably during the first twenty years of the fourteenth century. In rebuilding it, however, the architect displayed a remarkable conservatism. He retained not only the great Norman arch at the east end, opening to the Lady Chapel, but also, on the south side, a Norman wall, and portions of Norman windows. Why these were not removed it is difficult to understand ; but these Norman portions, together with the bases of the arch piers already mentioned, are the sole remaining traces of Bishop Urban's Norman Church, and the only indications afforded to us for determining its size and character,—unless, indeed, we consider that the late Norman portals in the nave (*post*, § XXII.) belonged to this earlier church.

Before discussing this, we may describe the existing Decorated work. We shall presently (§ XVIII.) see that the Lady Chapel and the eastern bays of the presbytery aisles—(the bays which project eastward of the presbytery itself)—are also Decorated, but of decidedly earlier character than the presbytery. The work of renovation eastward was begun with the Lady Chapel ; and, probably after a short interval the presbytery and its true aisles were rebuilt. At a later time again (but still before the Decorated style had passed into Perpendicular) the walls of the nave aisles, (as we have seen, § X.) were reconstructed. The whole works may have ranged over a considerable period, beginning

probably in the episcopate of William de Bruce—(1266-1287).

The two bays of the presbytery on the north side were entirely rebuilt, and are Early Decorated—the design having evidently been influenced by that of the nave piers; but neither the work itself nor the details of moulding and foliage are by any means so good. This portion of the church was included in the Italian temple; and the clerestory had been entirely destroyed. There was not, as in the nave, a single fragment from which an undoubted restoration could be attempted. The existing clerestory, therefore, and the eastern gable of the church, above the Norman arch, are entirely new. The clerestory is a Decorated version of that in the nave, happily adapted to the ancient work with which it is associated. As in the nave, a triforial wall passage runs along at the base of the windows. At the east end, above the arch, is a Decorated window, having a blind arch on either side. The bases of all three, ranging with the triforial passage, are guarded by a balustrade pierced with quatrefoils; and above the principal light is a round window filled with tracery. The modern roof of the presbytery is somewhat richer than that of the nave and choir; and the writer who has most strongly objected to it admits that “though a feature quite out of place in a cathedral, it has perhaps as good an effect as one of the kind can have.”^c

XIV. The appearance of the south side of the

^c Freeman, p. 35.

presbytery shows that a Norman wall was cut through, in order to construct the Decorated pier and arch. This was probably the case on the north side also; for portions of a Norman string-course were found above the piers during the late restoration. But on the south side parts of the entire wall remain. The head of a Norman window is seen east of the only completed arch of the Decorated period; whilst west of it the head and jamb of another Norman window remain, and part of an uncompleted Decorated arch is allowed to join the head of the window in a very remarkable manner (Plate VII.). Why such an arch should have been begun at all, or why the Norman window should have been so carefully retained, it is difficult, if not impossible to determine. It has been conjectured, and not perhaps without reason, that the later builders were unwilling to disturb the remains of St. Teilo, whose tomb, according to a very ancient tradition was that which is still marked by an episcopal effigy, nearly under this second Norman window. The tomb recess itself has been restored; but the effigy, which remains within it, is of Early Decorated character, and may possibly have been placed there in honour of the saint when the presbytery was remodelled.^d

^d William of Worcester ('Itinerary,' ed. Nasmith, p. 116) says that St. Teilo was one of the three Welsh saints whose remains had been translated:—

"Sanctus Davidicus de ecclesia Menevensi
 Sanctus Thebaus" (sic) "de Llandaff sepultus
 Sanctus Keneth de villa Keneth in Gowerland—
 Isti tres sancti et non plures sunt translati in North Wallia."



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. NORMAN WINDOW AND DECORATED
ARCH, NORTH SIDE.

However this may be, it is certain that these Norman windows belonged to Bishop Urban's Cathedral: and that the chief if not the only surviving portions of this Cathedral are contained in the present presbytery; and, perhaps, in the vaulted bay on the south side, which connects it with the chapter-house. What part of the Norman church was thus retained by the Early English and later builders, is a question of considerable difficulty.

It is indeed not certain, though highly probable, that Urban's church was completed during his lifetime; but it is clear that the great eastern arch which now exists must have been an arch of division between two portions of the Cathedral, of which that eastward of the arch may or may not have been finished by the founder. Dean Conybeare considered that Bishop Urban retained the primitive British church, and made it serve as an eastern or Lady Chapel, to which the arch gave admission. To this theory, however, there are many serious objections; and Mr. Freeman's opinion, that the arch was the choir arch

For the legend which asserted the multiplication of St. Teilo's body, see Part II. There is no record of any translation at Llandaff; but if the passage from William of Worcester (certainly marked by one inaccuracy, for we can hardly suppose that he writes North Wales to distinguish the principality from the ancient "Welsh Wales" or Damnonia) is to be accepted as of authority, he may refer to a translation of St. Teilo's body from the British church to that of Bishop Urban. See Appendix to Part I. Thebaus may possibly be a transcriber's error for Thelaus.

of the Norman Cathedral, that the Norman portion west of it belonged to the ancient nave, whilst the Norman choir was removed altogether when the Lady Chapel was built in the thirteenth century—is, though not without difficulties, by far the most probable solution of the question that has hitherto been suggested. It is not, indeed, easy on this hypothesis to account for the bases, indicating the former existence of a Norman arch, discovered when the present arch between the choir and presbytery was constructed. It seems probable that Urban's nave extended one bay west of this arch, and this western bay may have served as a sort of galilee; but such an arrangement, in so small a nave, would be most unusual, if not without precedent.

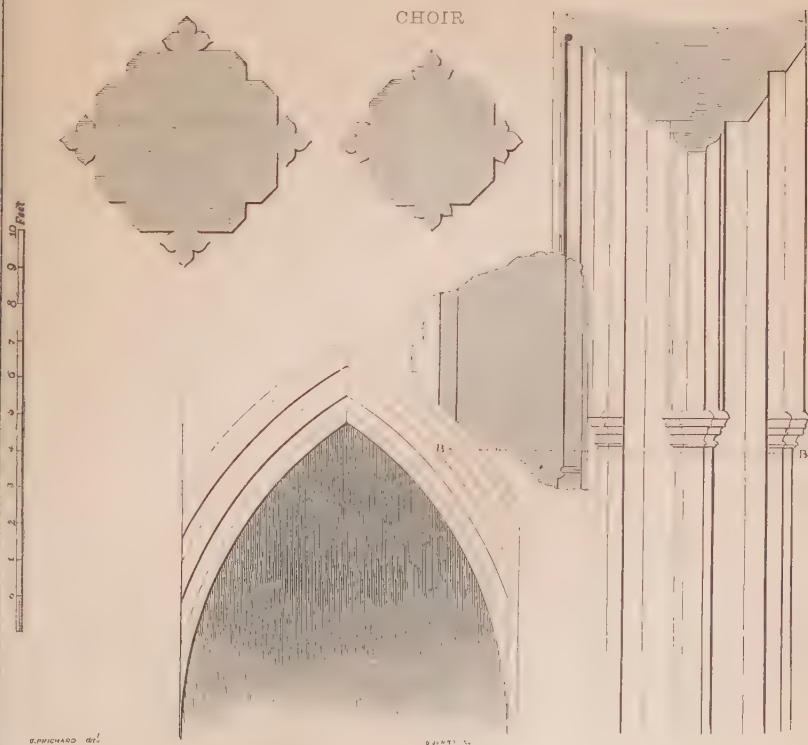
That the Norman nave extended thus far was suggested by Mr. Freeman, after an examination of the remarkable traces of ancient work in the south choir aisle. West of the unfinished Decorated arch and of the Norman window connected with it, a portal opens to a bay of the south aisle, now serving as a vestibule to the chapter-house. This one bay is vaulted in a style which may be called Early English, but which retains some features of Norman. The bay opens into the part of the aisle eastward of it, by a low arch; and Mr. Freeman thus describes the discoveries made here—the results of which are now visible to all (see Plate VIII.):—

“Over the arch (the low east arch of the vaulted bay) on the east side, I remarked a seam in the masonry,

PLAN OF PIERS.

NAVE

CHOIR



with a chamfer of ashlar, as of the southern jamb of some opening, which was not readily intelligible, though I ought to mention that Mr. Prichard at once suggested that it was a squint to the window in question (the western Norman window). On removing the masonry with which it was blocked, a long splay presented itself, which finally led to the outer shaft of the window imbedded in the wall, and revealing the original section. The first inference would be that the vaulted bay, whose existing features are Early English or Transitional, was added to the Norman work, and the masonry splayed off to prevent the necessity of interfering with the window. But the ashlar of the splay is part of the same stones as the Norman shaft; consequently this building, however much disguised, is an integral portion of Urban's work. It has been vaulted, as I before said, in Early English; but its walls, at this point at least, must be essentially Norman. I conclude that at the Early English repair, the greater part of this bay was internally cased with ashlar, as all the Decorative features are evidently of a piece with the ashlar surface. A small extent of rubble in the north wall may be a bit of Urban's work peeping through."*

Nothing can be added to this description. It remains to conjecture what the structure can have been thus attached to the Norman Cathedral. The

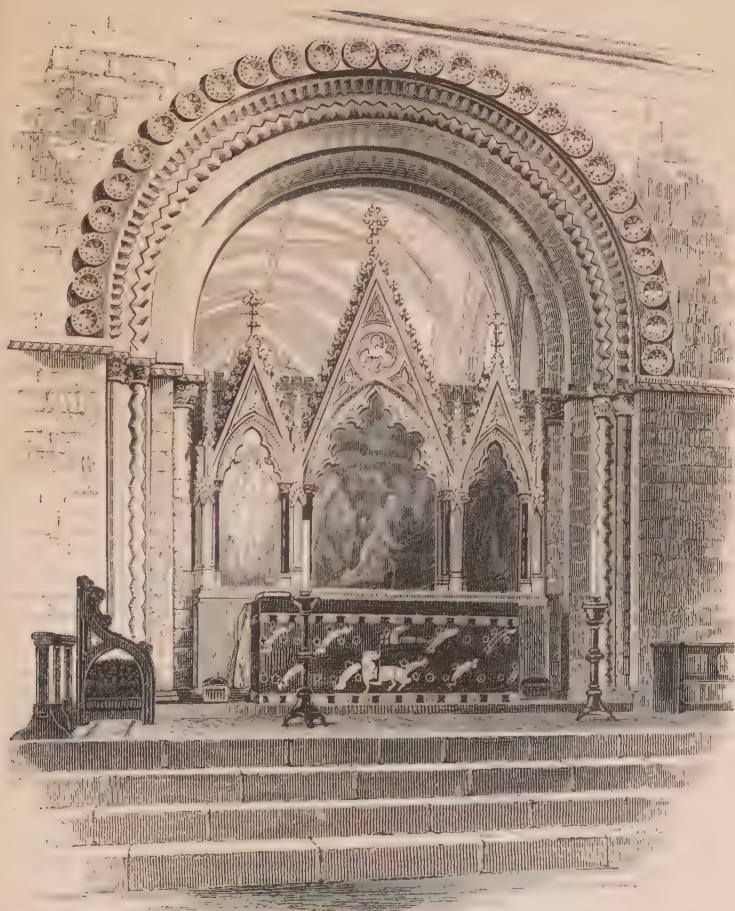
* 'Remarks on Archit. of Llandaff Cathedral,' pp. 49, 50.

suggestions will be different in accordance with the belief that the existing presbytery was the nave or choir of Urban's building. But if we suppose, as with Mr. Freeman we believe is most probable, that it formed the nave, we shall also be inclined to accept his conjecture that the vaulted bay was the lower story, serving as a porch, of a Norman tower. "And if so, considering the general position of side doorways, we may make a good guess at the extent of Urban's nave,—namely, that it extended one bay westward of this porch, *i.e.* of the present arch into the presbytery." ¹

The Norman windows show no indication of a groove for glazing; but it is impossible to believe that they can have been other than external. The Norman Cathedral must have been aisleless.

XV. The great eastern Norman arch of Llandaff (Plate IX.) fairly suggests a comparison with the eastern arch, which, in the neighbouring cathedral of Hereford, opens from the choir into the ambulatory behind it. This also is Norman, of somewhat earlier date and character than the Llandaff arch; and its position, at first sight, seems to support the opinion that the arch, in Urban's Cathedral, opened at the east end of the choir, rather than, as we believe, between the choir and the nave. But the Hereford arch belongs to a building of much greater size and importance than Urban's church can possibly have been. The

¹ Freeman, p. 51.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. NORMAN ARCH OF CHOIR

portions of Hereford Cathedral eastward of this arch, as well as their ground-plan, were completely changed during the Early English and Decorated periods, but some transitional Norman work remains; and it seems probable that the Norman plan resembled that of Gloucester and of Norwich; and that the choir and its aisles terminated in semicircular apses. Thus the great eastern arch must have marked the spring of the central apse.^s It is difficult to believe that a small, aisleless church, such as Urban's, can have had an apsidal arch so enriched and so important as that which now exists. Still, as Hereford was probably completed shortly before Llandaff was begun, and as Bishop Reinhelm, who completed it, was consecrated to the see of Hereford on the same day (August 11, 1107) that Urban was consecrated to that of Llandaff—the two bishops being thus contemporaries and neighbours^h—it is not impossible that the earlier

^s The east end of the Norman cathedral of Hereford was rebuilt in the transitional period (toward the end of the twelfth century), and this transitional work was altered when the E. English Lady Chapel was built, and parts were incorporated in the latter. But the eastern arch is a part of the first Norman work; and it would seem that the original termination of the church differed little from that to which it gave way in the transitional period, except that the apses may have been on a smaller scale. At any rate, the eastern arch must, at both times, have opened to an apse.

^h Reinhelm, bishop of Hereford, died in 1115. He is commemorated in an obituary of the Canons of Hereford as “*fundator ecclesiæ Sancti Ethelberti*,” which probably means that he completed the cathedral. This was certainly begun by Bishop Robert de Losing (1079-1095), who took for his model

church may have had some influence on the later. It is only fair to suggest the comparison.

The Norman arch of Llandaff, like that of Hereford, has received its principal enrichment on the western side. It recedes in four orders; and the inner soffite is formed by two rolls, a continuation (above their capitals) of the attached shafts below. The arch is slightly stilted. The capitals of the angle shafts are enriched with foliage and Norman ornament, and one of these shafts is formed in zigzag, prolonging downward. In this case the zigzag ornament is carried round two outer orders of the arch. A roll moulding of somewhat unusual design runs under the squared abacus from which the arch itself springs, and which is carried beyond it to the wall on either side, north and south. The highest enrichment is given to the arch by its exterior moulding, which, if not entirely confined to Llandaff, is, at least, of the rarest occurrence. It consists of a circlet, studded with small rounded projections, and within it, eight leaves, like the petals of a flower, their points inward. The eye is at once caught by this unusual and very effective ornament. The Hereford arch is plainer and of greater height; and certainly cannot have suggested any of the Llandaff details.

It should here be said that the shafts of the Norman

the church of Aachen, founded by Charles the Great (W. Malmes. de Gestis Pontif.). Llandaff, it will be remembered, was not begun until 1120, five years after the death of Reinhelm.

arch descend much lower than the platform of the altar. The real height of the arch above the original floor is thus concealed. This was discovered during the restoration. It would, of course, have been very desirable to have exposed the shafts entirely; but it was necessary to preserve the elevation of the altar.

XVI. The present arrangements of the presbytery are of course modern. The first bay rises in two paces from the choir. Five paces ascend from this to the platform of the altar in the eastern bay. The floor is laid with good tiling, varied with different marbles inlaid in diamond patterns. In removing the stucco of the Italian temple, which covered the whole of the eastern end, the ancient reredos was found behind it, dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century. This has been carefully preserved, but its restoration was hardly possible, and had it been carried out with any success the result must have been the production of, in effect, a new work. Accordingly, it has been removed to the north choir aisle (see *post*, § xx.), and has been replaced by a reredos of Caen stone, with side shafts of polished marble. A battlemented cornice extends across the great arch at the height of the square abacus from which the arch itself springs. The reredos below is divided into three arches, with foiled headings, that in the centre being the widest. Gables crowned with equal armed crosses rise above these arches. The central gable is higher than the others, and its cross rises nearly to the crown of the Norman

arch. The whole work is enriched with much well-designed leafage; and in the tympanum of the central gable is the Lamb, with the banner, with a vine encircling it. The Lamb is treading on grapes, with a reference to the words, "I have trodden the wine-press alone."¹

The arches of the reredos have been filled by three very striking pictures by Mr. Dante Gabriel Rossetti—works of very great excellence and originality. In the centre is the Nativity. On the north side, David as a shepherd; on the south, David as a king. The following is Mr. Rossetti's description of the triptych:—

"This picture shows Christ sprung from high and low, as united in the person of David, who was both shepherd and king, and worshipped by high and low (by king and shepherd) at his birth.

"The centre piece is not a literal rendering of the event of the Nativity, but rather a condensed symbol of it. An angel has just entered the stable where Christ is newly born, and leads by the hand a king and a shepherd, who bow themselves before the manger on which the Virgin Mother kneels, holding the Infant Saviour. The shepherd kisses the hand, and the king the foot of Christ, to denote the superiority in His sight of lowliness to greatness; while the one lays a crook, the other a crown, at his feet. An angel kneels behind the Virgin, with both arms about her, sup-

¹ Isaiah lxiii. 3.

porting her, and other angels look in through the openings round the stable, or play on musical instruments in the loft above.

“The two side figures represent David—one as a shepherd, the other as king. In the first he is a youth, and advances fearlessly but cautiously, sling in hand, to take aim at Goliath, while the Israelite troops watch the issue of the combat from behind an entrenchment. In the second, he is a man of mature years, still armed from battle, and composing on his harp a psalm in thanksgiving for victory. The following versified inscription might be written on the slab beneath the triptych as an epitome of its meaning :—

‘THE SEED OF DAVID.

Christ sprang from David, shepherd, and even so
From David, king; being born of high and low.

The shepherd lays his crook, the king his crown
Here at Christ’s feet, and high and low bow down.

And high and low Christ’s self is shown here,—even
Christ the Good Shepherd, Christ the King of Heaven.’ ”

Of the three pictures, the figure of the youthful David is perhaps the finest. But the whole work is a very noble one, in both design and execution.

The altar is vested in frontal and superfrontal, designed by Messrs. Morris and Marshall. In front is the Holy Lamb with the banner, and the deep crimson velvet is powdered with flowers, and with the inscription “Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi.”

On the highest pace, in front of the altar, are two

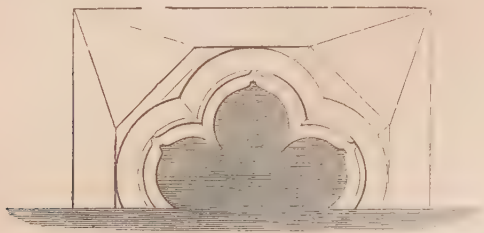
massive candelabra of brass, having bosses and bases set with agates and crystals. These were designed by Mr. Seddon, and executed by Hart, of London. They were presented by the Rev. E. Turberville Williams, Vicar of Caldicot.

The easternmost bay on the south side is filled by modern sedilia,—(in the place of sedilia which had been destroyed, but of the former existence of which there was distinct evidence),—the work of Mr. Prichard. There are four arches of equal height, with highly enriched canopies above them; the string-course and parapet above crosses these canopies at a level with the spring of the main arch. Small detached shafts of marble carry the arcade of the sedilia. At the extremities of the arcade are angels with up-thrown wings; in the gabled canopies are figures of the four evangelists, and in the spandrils are roundels containing birds and leafage,—among them the pelican in her piety, and the peacock with expanded tail, an ancient emblem of the Resurrection. The work is excellent, and reflects no small credit on the local sculptors who carried out the designs of the architect. In this, and in all parts of the presbytery which it was necessary to construct anew, Mr. Prichard has carefully followed the Decorated character given to it by the rebuilders of the fourteenth century.

XVII. The vaulted bay in the south aisle of the presbytery, opening to the chapter-house, has been already described. “The vaulting is pointed, but the ribs and two of the capitals of the vaulting-shafts,

must rather be called Romanesque, while the other two capitals are good Early English.”^k In the aisle beyond, the windows are Decorated, of somewhat earlier character than those in the nave and choir. The westernmost window is flat-headed, and of five lights—an unusual feature in a church of large scale or cathedral dignity. The tracery (except in the east windows of both aisles, where it is Perpendicular, inserted in Decorated jambs) is modern and conjectural; the jambs, which alone remained, being sufficient to show that the windows had been originally Decorated. In the opposite aisle (north) the windows are all pointed, Decorated, and filled with new tracery. (For the *stained glass*, see § XXI.; for the *monuments*, § XX.)

XVIII. An arch of Early English character, but



Plan of Pier between Lady Chapel and South Aisle.

very early in the style, opens from the presbytery aisles to the Lady Chapel. The western piers of these

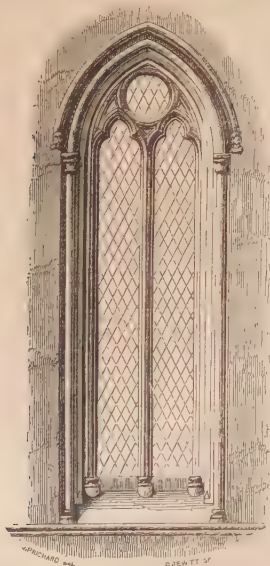
^k Freeman.

arches rest against the Norman east wall of the presbytery. They are probably of the same date as the vaulted bay in the south aisle, and indicate apparently that some change had been projected in the eastern portion of the church before the construction of the existing Lady Chapel. It is possible that these arches represent the beginning of what was intended to have been an Early English Lady Chapel; that for some reason the work here was delayed until the nave and choir had been rebuilt in that style, at no long period after which the existing chapel, of which the features are Early Decorated, was erected.

The *Lady Chapel* itself is a parallelogram of five bays, and, unlike any other part of the Cathedral, has a stone vault. Except in the window tracery (early Geometrical), and in some of the foliage, the work shows little sign of the change from Early English;—although these indications are sufficient to place it at the beginning of the next period. The chapel may fairly be assigned to Bishop William de Bruce (1265-1287), who is buried in it, according to a very general custom, by which the founder was laid in that part of the church which he had rebuilt or renewed. Bishop Urban's Norman choir, or the portion of his church eastward of the great arch, if it had not been already removed, was taken down when the Lady Chapel was built.

The vaulting of the chapel, plain and simple, is carried on Purbeck shafts, and has carved bosses at the intersections. The side windows are of two trefoil

lights, with a plain circlet in the head.¹ The east window had been destroyed by Mr. Wood. The



Window of Lady Chapel.

¹ It was ordered in 1740 that the "windows of the Lady's Chapel, now in a tottering and ruinous condition, be with all convenient speed repaired; the great window at the east end thereof to be taken down, a lesser window frame of good well-seasoned oak timber put up in the room thereof, a good stone arch made above such window, and the vacant spaces both above and on the side thereof well walled up." It was also directed that "the freestone jambs of the other six windows in the said chapel be well repaired, and all those windows new glazed." This order is quoted in the 'Account of the condition of the Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral,' by the present Bishop, page 29.

jamb alone are ancient, and the existing tracery is conjectural. The restoration of this window, in 1844, was the first step toward that restoration of the whole cathedral which has so recently been brought to a happy conclusion. It is of five lights, and was designed by Mr. Prichard, after the type of the chapter-house windows in York Minster. In the stained glass which fills it are inserted the armorial bearings of the Rev. H. Douglas, the Precentor, whose dividend (*ante*, § iv.) was granted for restoring this window; of Bishop Copleston; of the Rev. J. M. Traherne, Chancellor of the Cathedral; and of the Rev. W. B. Knight, Chancellor of the Diocese, and afterwards Dean. The reredos—if it be proper to give that name to the arrangement of the wall at the back of the altar, and below the east window—has been carefully restored. In the centre is a deep recess or tabernacle; on each side is an arcade of six arches in double tiers, and at either end is a wider and larger recess. The side compartments are original, and have been scarcely touched. That in the centre is a facsimile of what anciently existed. The work of the whole chapel is equal to the Early English of the nave and choir, and is superior to the Decorated of the presbytery. “Taken alone, it would form an excellent model for a collegiate or palatial chapel.”^m For the monuments, see § xx.

XIX. The *Chapter House*, which projects from the

^m Freeman, p. 37.

south aisle of the presbytery, is of Early English character, and is remarkable if not unique in form. Unlike the ordinary forms—the oblong and the polygonal—this chapter-house “is square, with a central pillar. The effect is not pleasing, being that of a square playing at a polygon. . . . The architect evidently preferred a vault of a greater number of bays to the heaviness of one vast square bay over the whole apartment, or even to two oblong bays. He designed his roof of four bays, which, consequently, required a central pillar to support it; it is exactly the same arrangement as in the great staircase at Christ Church, though that, perhaps, from its greater size and different use, does not in the same way suggest the polygonal form. The central pillar is a plain round one, and there is no great amount of detail in the building.”ⁿ The chapter-house was restored in 1867. The stage above it has been converted into an octagonal building. Large squinches at the angles, existing in the original walls, permitted this arrangement to be carried out, and the archives of the Cathedral are now deposited in this upper room. The alteration of the ancient form of the chapter-house, although that which has replaced it may be far more pleasing, is a “restoration” of somewhat doubtful propriety.

XX. The cathedral is not rich in *monuments*, although it contains some which are interesting.

In the Lady Chapel is the altar tomb with effigies,

ⁿ Freeman, p. 39.

of *Christopher Mathew* (d. 1500) and his wife (d. 1526). He is in armour, and the sides of the altar tomb have small figures of "weepers" much shattered. The family of Mathew, now extinct at Llandaff, was anciently one of great importance here. They became possessed of the principal manor about 1400 by the marriage of Sir Mathew ap Jevan with Janet, heir of Sir Jenkyn le Flemyng, of Llandaff; and formed afterwards three branches: (1) of Llandaff, (2) of Castel Menych, (3) of Radyr. From a younger son of the Castel Menych branch descended Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York; from that of Radyr came the Irish Earls of Llandaff. David Mathew, of Llandaff, and Thomas Mathew, of Castel Menych, appear among the intended "Knights of the Royal Oak." Rear-Admiral Mathew, of Llandaff, of whose proceedings in the Mediterranean, in 1744, there is an account in Smollett's 'History' (chap. viii. § 8), as well as of the court-martial that followed them, was the builder of Bishop's Court, the house bought for the see by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.^o

On the wall of this chapel, in a niched recess, is a brass for *Bishop Copleston* (1828-1849).

Bishop *William de Bruce* (d. 1287) was buried, according to Godwin, in this chapel, on the north side of the altar: "Marmore contextus jacet affabre sculpto." His effigy, much worn, remains in its place, but is of

^o Tradition says that it was built during his absence, and that when he saw it he said "he would never live in it, for he had had enough of a three-decker."

no great importance. The mitre bears the name of the bishop, which is here spelt "Brews" (see Part II.). On the floor beside it is a brass with inscription, marking the spot where Bishop Copleston was interred.

In the *presbytery*, on the south side, is the tomb generally assigned to St. Teilo. (For what is known of St. Teilo, who is regarded as joint-founder with St. Dubricius of the see of Llandaff, see Part II.) His death may be referred to the beginning of the seventh century; and if the life contained in the *Liber Landavensis* is to be regarded as of authority in the matter, it took place within the limits of his diocese, if not at Llandaff. A singular legend is told of the multiplication of his body by miracle (see Part II.); but it is admitted that one of the three bodies which presented themselves was buried at Llandaff, the place of his see. His remains would, of course, have been most carefully preserved and replaced when Bishop Urban erected his cathedral on the site of the small British church; and tradition has always given to him this tomb on the south side of the *presbytery*. It was so regarded in the time of Browne Willis, who says, "That this was St. Teilaw's tomb appears from several solemn oaths taken upon it;" and it is certain that the usual oath of faithful observance was made, "*super tumbam Sancti Theliawi et super omnia sacrosancta ejusdem ecclesiæ*," or "*super tumbam S. Thelawi et super sacrosancta evangelia Ecclesiæ de Landav.*" The tomb was opened by the workmen em-

ployed in constructing the Italian temple; and when the wall at the back of the portico, at the east end of the presbytery, was taken down in 1850, the following inscription was found on it:—

“September the 8th, 1736.

“On the south side of this chancell nare the door is a Tumbe whin (within) a neach now wall'd up it is supposed to be Sant Blawe” (a mistake either of the copyist or the inscriber for Teliau or Teilo) “Tumbe when i opened the Tumbe the Parson buried apar'd to be a Bishop by his Pastorall Staffe & Crotcher. The Stafe when we came to Tuch it it droped to peacis but the Crocher being Puter But almost perished But wold hold together. Betwithin the Stafe there was a large cup by his side but almost perished The most of Puter he was rapt in Leather and the upper part was very sound.

“JOHN WOOD

Architect of
Queen Sq^r Bath.

“THOMAS OMAR

Joyner and Carpenter
of Queen Sq^r.” ^p

The remains thus examined may have been those of the supposed St. Teilo, as they had been replaced by Bishop Urban. The recess itself is original. Its ornamentation is modern. It is of Early Decorated character, and the diaper of its canopy was executed as a free gift by a son of Edward Clarke, the workman who sculptured the sedilia, reredos, and other modern stone-work. The ancient effigy which had

^p This curious inscription is printed by the Bishop of Llandaff in his ‘Account of the Condition of the Fabric,’ p. 24. It may be hoped that the “inscriber” was the “joyner and carpenter,” rather than the distinguished architect of Queen’s Square.

been walled up here, is of the early Decorated period. It is that of a bishop, wearing the Eucharistic vestments, with the mitre. The canopy is foiled, with a ten-rayed star in the tympanum. On either side are mutilated figures—an angel presenting the soul, and the Virgin with the Holy Infant. These are much shattered. If this effigy was really intended for St. Teilo, it must have been sculptured and placed on his tomb when the Norman work of this part of the church was replaced by Decorated.

A tradition which also existed when Browne Willis wrote his description of Llandaff, placed the tomb of St. Dubricius on the north side of the presbytery, nearly opposite to that assigned to St. Teilo. An episcopal effigy, which may be of the Decorated period, and is now in the north presbytery aisle, seems anciently to have been placed under the easternmost arch of the presbytery on this side, above the effigy of Bishop Marshall. It is possible that it was sculptured and placed above the tomb of St. Dubricius at the same time as the figure of St. Teilo was placed opposite. For the story of St. Dubricius see Part II.^a

The monument which now exists on the *north* side of the presbytery is that of *Bishop Marshall* (1478–1496). He is fully vested, with jewelled mitre and a

^a Some remarks (too long for a note in this place) on the tombs of St. Teilo and St. Dubricius, and on their connection with the Norman Cathedral and the Decorated presbytery, will be found in an Appendix to Part I.

filleted staff. Something, perhaps a heart, has been held between the hands, one of which is gone. On the altar-tomb are escutcheons, bearing emblems of the Passion. This monument, as well as an episcopal throne on the south side opposite, were erected by Bishop Marshall in his lifetime. The throne has, of course, entirely disappeared; but a remarkable painting which was attached to it, was discovered during the restoration, and is now at Bishop's Court (see *post*, § xxiv.).

In the *north aisle* of the *presbytery* and *choir*—beginning from the west—are :

The effigy supposed to represent St. Dubricius, and already mentioned. It was removed to the place it now occupies in 1857. The recess in which it lies is said to be the tomb of Bishop Bromfield (1389–1393). At the back is the figure of a body emerging from a tomb, a representation of the Resurrection, uncommon at this date. In front are shields, with emblems of the Passion.

An emaciated female figure in a winding-sheet; one of those unpleasing memorials which, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, were not uncommon. It has not been appropriated.

Eastward of this is placed the ancient *reredos*, which was found behind the eastern “portico” of the Italian temple when that was removed. It is Decorated work of the first half of the fourteenth century, and has been exceedingly rich and beautiful, though now so shattered as to make its true restoration impossible.

It consists of a long series of arched niches, having above them a cornice with open roses and lilies. In the spandrils of the arches are roundels, retaining portions of the gilding with which they were once covered. At each end of the space left for the altar is a long narrow opening, squared, piercing quite through the niche, and fitted with a movable slab of stone. These openings may have been used for communicating with persons in the Lady Chapel, behind the reredos. It is hardly possible that they can have served as hagioscopes.

At the east end of the aisle is the altar tomb, with effigy, of *Sir David Mathew*, standard-bearer to Edward IV. at the battle of Towton (March 29, 1461). He was killed at Neath by some of the Turbervilles, with whom he was at feud.

In the *south aisle* of the presbytery, at the east end, is an effigy, said to be that of a Lady Audley. The close muffler, or "barbe" round the chin, and the long veil show that she was a widow—probably, suggests Browne Willis, "the wife of John, Lord Audley, a person of great possessions in these parts, and an active man in suppressing the insurrection of Owen Glendwr in the time of Henry IV., in the tenth year of whose reign he departed this life."

In the *north aisle* of the *nave*, in the fifth bay from the west, is the altar tomb, with effigies, of *Sir William Mathew* and his wife Janet. The inscription records the death of Sir William in 1528, and of his wife in 1530. The knight is fully armed, and at his head

is a monk with a rosary. The sides of the tomb have richly-decorated niches.

The effigy of an unknown bishop is placed in a wall recess in this aisle; and westward of it is a beautiful modern monument for "*Henry Thomas, of Llewyn Madoc in Brecknockshire, for eighteen years chairman of Quarter Sessions for this county, died 1863.*" The design is by Prichard; the figures by Armstead. A marble slab, inlaid with a cross and the holy lamb, is supported by two arches, at the back of which are sculptured (west) the Judgment of Solomon, (east) Moses with the tables of the law. The figure of Solomon is fine. It is unfortunate that the work cannot be better lighted.

In the *south aisle* of the nave, in the second bay from the east is a wide-arched wall recess, which may, perhaps, have served as a reliquary; pieces of broken glass found within it when it was opened during the late restoration indicating possibly that the front of the recess had been glazed. The low, wide form of the arch (which has no mouldings) does not mark its date with certainty. It may have been part of the Early English work; though it seems more probable that it was constructed when the walls of the nave aisles were rebuilt in the Late Decorated period.

In this aisle also, close to the west of the small eastern portal, is the recumbent figure of a bishop, transferred, together with the niche in which it lies, from the dwarf wall at the back of the stall-work. It has not been appropriated.

XXI. The *stained glass* throughout the Cathedral is, of course, entirely modern. Some of the most important windows (especially the triplet at the west end of the nave) are still plainly glazed. It is to be regretted that, as is too often the case, many different artists have been employed, thus interfering with the uniformity which should prevail, if not throughout the church, at least in each of its great divisions. The glass of *Morris and Marshall* attracts attention as well by its peculiar character as by its excellence. Their figures are set in a delicate grisaille, which fills the greater part of the lights, and from which the bright colours shine out like jewels. The *south aisle* of the presbytery contains two windows by these artists; the east window, in which the subjects are the Saviour as King and Priest, Elizabeth and the Baptist, and Melchizedek; and the large flat-headed window, in which is the Crucifixion. The window between these, representing miracles of our Lord, is by *Lavers and Barrauld*. In the south choir aisle are two windows by *Clayton and Bell*; and in the north aisle, windows by *O'Connor* and by *Morris*. The east windows of the presbytery, and the east window of the Lady Chapel are also filled with stained glass,—the former by *O'Connor*, the latter by *Willement*, from a design by *Prichard*.

XXII. We return to the *exterior* of the cathedral. The peculiarity of outline on which Mr. Freeman has dwelt at much length—the long unbroken roof of nave, choir and presbytery; the flat unbuttressed aisle

walls; the absence of transepts; and "the entire want of any central point to produce harmony and pyramidal effect;"—all this, although still essentially unchanged, has received considerable modification in the course of the restoration; and the new southwestern tower and spire, with the conical roof of the chapter house, add some cathedral dignity to a church of which the ground plan is undoubtedly formed on the parochial type. The division between choir and presbytery is now marked by the base of an intended *flèche*, rising from the roof above the arch which marks the separation within. Buttresses have also been added in connection with interior arches (§ XL.), so as to strengthen the aisle walls, and to break the flat surface. The lowering of the floor of the nave, to the original level, involved the lowering of numerous modern vaults. These were so near the nave piers (which had absolutely no foundations), that the whole nave was in jeopardy; and the arcades, already overhanging, threatened a further decline. To prevent this the buttresses and segmental arches were introduced. The buttresses of the Lady Chapel are original, and always distinguished this portion of the exterior from the rest of the church. They are capped by modern pinnacles on either side of the eastern gable. The external roof of the Lady Chapel was formerly of a much higher pitch. If this cannot be restored, the adoption of a loftier parapet would, perhaps, bring the Lady Chapel more into connection with the steep eastern gable of the presbytery.

An enriched portal of Decorated character, in no sense a restoration, but a modern and original design—has replaced a modern square-headed doorway of wood, opening to the south aisle of the presbytery. Like the chapter-house which adjoins it, it breaks the long line of wall. The beautiful parapet cresting the aisle wall is also modern.

The *Chapter House*, before the late restoration, terminated as a square building, with a low-raised roof, a little above the roof of the aisle. Browne Willis's engraving shows an external staircase, leading to the upper story, which was then used as a parish school-room. This upper story has been entirely rebuilt, and, instead of the former square form, it is now octagonal, that change having been suggested by very large interior squinches, which certainly pointed to some construction above them of octangular form, which may or may not have been completed. The chapter-house is now covered with an octangular conical roof, crowned by a small figure of the archangel Gabriel. It is impossible to deny that the effect is good and striking, or that the general view of the south side is improved by the change; but since the first builders had, notwithstanding the squinches, carried up the second story with squared walls, it may be doubted whether the alteration is altogether legitimate. The rebuilding of the second story was, however, a matter of necessity.

The *Norman portals* toward the west end of both aisles, call for especial attention. They are much

enriched ; and both are of very late character. The *south* portal has its orders enriched with double zigzag and double lozenge mouldings. The shafts on which they rest have scalloped capitals with square abaci. The side jambs of the doorway have a moulding of angles united by straight lines. The outer moulding of the portal has the ordinary Etruscan scroll, of rare occurrence in Norman ornament, but not without precedent. The *north* portal (Plate X.) has fewer orders, and but one shaft ; the ornaments are double lozenges and zigzags ; the outer moulding is the dog-tooth, or reversed lily flower.

The date of these portals, and their connection with the early English nave, are questions of considerable difficulty. There can be no doubt that they are much later—at least half a century—than the great eastern arch, or the other Norman work of the presbytery ; and it is nearly as certain that they must be earlier than the arcade of the nave. The western portal, although round headed, has no Norman detail or ornament, and belongs unquestionably to the same period as the rest of the west front. Mr. Freeman suggests that “the aisle walls were built before the arcades, and the stoppages which often took place, or even the mere slowness with which such great works were carried on, will allow us ample time to account for the slight advance of style between them.”^r It is difficult under any hypothesis to believe that the Norman

^r Freeman, p. 65.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL. NORTH DOORWAY

cathedral extended thus far. If it did so extend, it cannot have been completed until long after Urban's time, and its nave must have been destroyed almost as soon as finished, to make room for that which now exists. Mr. Freeman's suggestion is far more probable.

In each aisle there is a smaller doorway farther to the east. These are Decorated, of the same date as the windows, but without enrichment. Above that on the south side is a vesica-shaped niche, with a bracket.

XXIII. The *Western Towers* remain to be described.

The *north-western*, or Perpendicular tower, affords, like the Norman work in the presbytery, a curious proof of the conservatism of its builders. It takes the place of an Early English tower which had probably become unsafe; but the arches on which it rests, east and south, are those of its predecessor, and part of the Early English west wall, with a portion of the internal jamb of the west window, has been united to the Perpendicular work in a very skilful manner. The tower itself, massive and simple, rises in three stages, and is crowned by a most elaborate parapet, with rich pinnacles of open-work. The buttresses, which have many stages, do not rise to the top of the tower; an unusual arrangement, and certainly a defect, since the pinnacles, in ordinary cases, spring from the buttresses. Here they overhang the tower.

The large belfry windows in the upper stage are filled with ornamental stone-work, instead of luffer-boards. This is an enrichment frequent in Somerset-

shire, and is so beautiful that we may wonder it has not been more generally adopted. One of the pinnacles of the tower fell in the last century, and assisted in ruining the north aisle of the nave. The rest speedily followed; and in the late restoration it was necessary to construct altogether afresh the whole of the parapet with its pinnacles. It resembles, but is somewhat richer than, that of St. John's Church at Cardiff; and whilst there can be no doubt that the whole design is one of great beauty, it must be admitted that the want of connection between the parapet and the tower is an architectural defect, due, of course, to the original builders, and not to the present architect, who has but restored, though with some additional enrichment, the former "coronal" of the tower. A spire of open-work, rising slightly above other pinnacles, terminates the stair turret.

This tower, remarks Mr. Freeman, may be regarded as an exception to the statement (quoted in § II. note 2), that the architectural splendours of the two great Welsh cathedrals are to be regarded as something exotic, and not calculated to excite any distinctly Cambrian patriotism. "For it has always been attributed to one who was not only a native Welshman, but in whom and whose family the blood of the ancient British princes—if that lofty extraction be a genealogical reality—was brought into close alliance with the royal houses of England and France, with the blood of Alfred and St. Lewis. It was erected by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards Duke

of Bedford, a son of the romantic marriage between Queen Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V., and the simple Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor; and consequently paternal uncle to Henry VII.”^s

The *south-western* tower and spire are entirely new, and entirely the work of Mr. Prichard. This is, of course, the feature of the existing cathedral which first attracts attention, and which has so greatly altered its ancient outline. An Early English tower which, as has been already recorded (§ III.), partly fell, and was in part removed, during the last century, rose on this side of the west front, and was lower than the Perpendicular tower opposite. (The heights of the two towers are given as 89 and 105 feet.) As far as old drawings can be relied upon, this tower was bare and poor in outline, and unworthy of the beautiful front which it flanked. No record exists of the Early English tower, replaced by the Perpendicular; but it is most probable that, as usual, the two were precisely alike.

Of the south-west tower a mere fragment remained when the restoration of the western portion of the nave was begun after 1857. It cannot, of course, be said that the new tower and spire are in any sense a restoration; and very competent architectural judges have found fault with the work, partly on the score that the Early English tower was not replaced, and partly because Mr. Prichard's tower is of foreign

^s Freeman, p. 78.

rather than English character. To such objections the safest answer is an appeal to the striking beauty and effect of the new work. Had the former tower remained in a sufficiently perfect state, the proper course would have been to restore it, however plain its details or however unsatisfactory its outline. But this was impossible; and the architect was therefore at liberty to use his own discretion, recollecting that the Early English front was already flanked on one side by a Perpendicular tower, and that no uniformity would be broken by giving that a companion of somewhat different character. It is true that the general design suggests the school of northern France, and especially some towers of Lower Normandy. But if this be a fault, it may surely be said that the work has been brought into admirable harmony with the rest of the church, and that the eye rests with infinite pleasure on the graceful, enriched spire, balanced as it is by the mass of delicate open tracery which crowns the tower of Jasper Tudor.

The tower and spire rise to a height of 195 feet 7 inches. The stone used is oolite from various quarries,—that from the Campden quarries giving a peculiar golden tint to portions of the work. The lower story is groined; and massive buttresses, to resist the thrust, project at the west, south-west, and south-east angles. These terminate in open canopies with pyramidal roofs. Under the canopies are figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; to the first, and perhaps to both, of whom the cathedral was dedicated by Bishop Urban (see *ante*,

§ II. note ^b); and of Bishop Ollivant, during whose episcopate the new tower has been built, and the restoration of the cathedral completed. (The western side of the buttress beneath has a sculptured bas-relief of the building, with the tower and spire, to commemorate the date.) Immediately above the south aisle roof, against which the tower abuts, is a range of arches, in which are placed seated figures of the four evangelists, with their symbols at their feet. The original tower, of which the lines were thus far followed, was a parallelogram. In order to reduce it to a square, so that it might carry the octagonal spire, these arches were constructed,—dying into a deep range of laminated courses.

The ringing floor in the second stage of the tower is lighted by simple two-light windows. The belfry stage above at once suggests the west front, from which the design has been happily borrowed. The two-light windows are flanked by niches under pointed arches, and contain sculptured figures, representing various nations,—the “gathering” of the universal net of the Church. Above the arches of the windows, out of their spandrils, project in watchful attitude the heads of great converters of the nations, over the types of which they are placed. A machicolated cornice and an open parapet crown this stage. From it the spire rises in a way which is no doubt French, but which admirably connects it with the lower work, and which in itself is full of beautiful effect and variety of outline. And if the form be French, the details are

thoroughly English, and well in keeping with those of the west front below.

XXIV. Before the spire was added the Cathedral was almost hidden from the high table-land west of it, on which the "city" of Llandaff stands. This city is but a village; and there is no reason for believing that it was at any time of more importance than at present. But the Cathedral was the ecclesiastical centre of the district; and it was as well, no doubt, to mark its position, as to give additional dignity, that a *campanile* or bell-tower was erected on the high ground, at no great distance from the west front. This bell-tower has almost completely disappeared; and no record has been preserved of its destruction or of its ruin. Some fragments of the lower arches, the mouldings of which show that the tower was built towards the middle of the thirteenth century, remain behind a cottage at the south end of the Dean's garden.

This bell-tower, with the castellated palace of the bishops, which rose at no great distance, must have been conspicuous landmarks. Of the castle (see Title-page) little remains beyond the massive gateway, which is on such a scale as to indicate that the entire building must have been of considerable size and importance. The gateway may belong to the early part of the fourteenth century. "The remains have nothing distinctively episcopal about them; they might as well have been the stronghold of any Norman robber, the lair of the wolf of the fold,

rather than the dwelling of its shepherd.”¹ They now serve as the boundary of the garden of Bishop’s Court, the modern palace. This is a good country house, having attached to it a small and well-designed domestic chapel.

In the garden of Bishop’s Court are preserved the two urns which stood one on either side of the roof of Mr. Wood’s temple, at the west end. On the pedestals is the inscription,—

“ Quæ . Ecclesiæ . Cathedralis . Fastigio . Impositæ
 Piam . Magis . Quam . Felicem
 In . Ædificio . Sacro . Instaurando . Et . Ornando
 Sæculi . Curam
 Centum . Annos . Commemoraverant
 Huc . Demum
 Antiqua . Ecclesiæ . Specie . Restituta
 Ab . Alfredo . Episcopo . Landavensi
 Translatæ . Sunt . Urnæ
 A . D . MDCCLII . ”

In the library, as part of its ornamental fitting, are placed the columns, pilasters, and cornices which formed part of the woodwork of the choir in the Italian choir. And on the staircase is hung a curious picture, which formed part of the throne erected in the Cathedral by Bishop Marshall in 1480, and which was apparently fastened to the back of it. It was placed on the top of the Italian portico when that was constructed in 1736, and was found when it was removed. The picture represents the Virgin ascending through the starry firmament, supported by seven angels with ex

¹ Freeman, p. 4.

panded wings. Above, on either side, is an angel playing on a musical instrument. Below, on the left, is an angel holding an escutcheon, with the arms of the bishop and see; and on the right a figure of Bishop Marshall himself, with uplifted hands, with a scroll apparently proceeding from his mouth, and bearing the words

“O Virgo scandens sis Marshall cœlica pandens.”

XXV. The restoration of the Cathedral has been attended by others no less essential. The houses of the cathedral clergy had been allowed to fall into complete decay. It does not indeed appear that they were at any time of much size or importance; and the deanery and canon's-house, built from the designs of Mr. Christian, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' architect, are beyond a doubt far larger and better than any which had preceded them. The office of Dean had been vacant for some centuries before it was refilled in 1843, by Chancellor Bruce-Knight, to whose zeal, and to that of his successors, Dean Conybeare and Dean Williams, the restoration of the Cathedral has been greatly indebted. The canons are now resident as elsewhere, for three months at a time; and it is unfortunate that the one residentiary-house which has been built for the four canons, does not permit the introduction of a better system, or of more continued residence. But this is a defect which admits of remedy; and at any rate the improvement is enormous since 1850, when (March 13) the present Bishop of Llandaff presented

himself for installation, and his demand "was responded to by the late excellent and highly respected Vicar-Choral, the only ecclesiastic at that time in residence, having all the cathedral, parochial, and pastoral duties of Llandaff, which then included the hamlets of Canton and Ely, resting upon him." ^u The services of the restored Cathedral are fully appreciated. On Sundays the church is thronged from end to end, and we may point to the restoration of Llandaff as no slight and no unsatisfactory answer to those who insist that the Welsh Church is possessed of but feeble life, and retains little hold on the affections of the people. ^x

^u Charge of the Bishop of Llandaff, August, 1869, p. 5. The Vicar-Choral, the Rev. R. Prichard, B.D., was the father of the architect who has so successfully carried out the restoration of the Cathedral.

^x A Welsh-speaking man of the labouring class, who could neither read nor write, spontaneously made the remark to myself, as he observed the children of the several schools, and the large congregation, returning from the Cathedral after service one Lord's-day morning,—“The world is a very different world from what it was when I was a boy.” The same individual told me—and I record it with deep regret, but have no doubt of its truth, for he was a man of strong common sense, and no flatterer—that in his early days not more than about half-a-dozen used to attend the cathedral service, and that the rest of the Llandaff people used to sit at their doors “jeering at those that went.”—*Charge of the Bishop of Llandaff* (1869), p. 19.

APPENDIX (A) TO PART I.

§ XX.

THE authenticity of the tombs of St. Teilo and St. Dubricius, and the disposition during the successive changes of the church, of the relics which they contained, suggest some difficult questions. It does not appear that the relics of either saint were at any time enshrined. It is expressly stated that Bishop Urban, after bringing the relics of Dubricius from Bardsey Island, placed them "in tumbam ad hoc aptam." There is no record of any later translation, and no mention of a shrine at any time. The vows made at the tomb of St. Teilo seem to prove the same thing. Had his relics been preserved in a portable shrine, that surely would have been chosen to confirm such obligations. The passage before (§ XIV., note) quoted from William of Worcester, possibly refers to the translation of the saint's remains from the British Church to the Norman.

But did they, as well as the relics of St. Dubricius, undergo more than one such translation? The question is closely connected with the architectural changes of the Cathedral, and with the doubt whether the present presbytery was the nave or the choir of Urban's church.

In the first place, the life of St. Dubricius in the *Liber Landavensis* (which in what it asserts of the acts of Bishop Urban may fairly be accepted as authoritative) tells us that, when the relics were brought from Bardsey, they were placed "in tumbam ad hoc aptam, *et in antiquo monasterio, ante Sanctæ Mariæ altare versus aquilonalem plagam.*" (L. Land.,

p. 83). The writer goes on to state that the bishop, "videns loci parvitatem . . . cœpit *monasterium majus* construere in honore Petri Apostoli, et sanctorum confessorum Dubricii, Teliaui, Oudocci." (The passage is quoted at length, § II., note). St. Teilo had been buried, after his death, in the "antiquum monasterium;" and it follows that if Bishop Urban pulled this entirely down after (or during) the construction of the "*monasterium majus*," the relics of the two saints must have been translated into the latter.

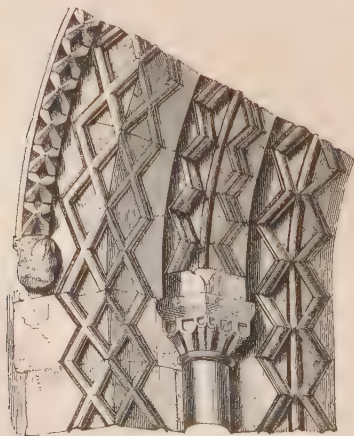
Now it is quite impossible that Urban would have placed the tombs of these two saints, the founders of the see, and the especial patrons of Llandaff, in the nave of his Norman Cathedral. The position of St. Teilo's tomb in the British Church is unknown; but, as we have just seen, a place of the highest honour was given in it to that of St. Dubricius. Translated to the Norman Cathedral, it is most likely that the relics of Dubricius were placed in a similar tomb, on the north side of the high altar, whilst those of St. Teilo were placed opposite.

But if this were so, and if the present presbytery was Urban's nave, the remains must have been translated again, and new tombs constructed for them, after the Norman choir had been pulled down. Thus they would be made to occupy the same relative positions in the Decorated presbytery as they had occupied in the Norman choir.

If we accept this theory however (which may be regarded as a certainty, on the supposition that the presbytery was the Norman nave), we must give up the notion that the Decorated arcade was not completed on the south side from a fear of interfering with St. Teilo's tomb. That tomb can never have been in the Norman nave. On the other hand, if the existing presbytery was really the Norman choir, the tombs may have remained untouched, and may have received only the addition of episcopal effigies, a not uncommon proceeding when a portion of a church was rebuilt, and one of which there are many examples in the Cathedral Church of Wells. This argument may be placed side by side with the resem-

blance of the eastern arch of Llandaff to that of Hereford ; but although both points seem worthy of consideration, there is certainly great difficulty in supposing that the very enriched and massive arch of Llandaff opened only to an eastern apse, and that in a comparatively small church.

It is remarkable that no chronicler has recorded the successive translations of St. Teilo and St. Dubricius, which upon one of these theories must have taken place. For this we may perhaps account by assuming that Welsh saints were regarded as of little importance beyond their own territory, though we should certainly have expected to find in some part of the '*Liber Landavensis*' a record of the removal of St. Dubricius's relics from the '*antiquum Monasterium*,' where they were first laid, to the Norman church. It is still more remarkable that if such translations occurred, the saintly relics were never enshrined, but that at each change they were replaced "*in tumbas ad hoc aptas*."



North Door of Nave.

APPENDIX (B).

§ II. *Note.*

THE ‘*Liber Landavensis*’ was apparently the work of Geoffrey, brother of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, from 1107 to 1133. Besides lives of the saints connected with the see, it contains numerous grants, charters, and records illustrating the history of Llandaff from the foundation of the see to the year 1131. The book was no doubt compiled from authentic materials; and it is entirely free from the legends of King Arthur with which St. Dubricius is connected in the ‘History’ of Geoffrey of Monmouth. “But the internal evidence of the book is sufficient to prove that all the earlier charters contained in it were not contemporary with their professed dates, but were drawn up at a much later period, probably not long before the compilation of the volume itself, and are simply statements, founded upon varying amounts of information, and cast into the form of charters, of the circumstances under which this or that church or land was possessed or claimed by the See of Llandaff, in the twelfth century, at the time of an angry and protracted contest between that see and those of St. David’s and Hereford, for a large portion of those churches and lands. The parallel Breton charters, and the still more closely parallel charters of the Abbey of Llan-carvan in the *Vita S. Cadoci* (‘Cambro-Brit. Saints,’ 86-92), are of a similar character.”^v

The original MS. of the ‘*Liber Landavensis*’ was in the

^v Haddan and Stubbs, ‘*Councils*,’ i. p. 147, note.

keeping of the Church of Llandaff until shortly before the year 1655, at which time Dugdale, in the first volume of the 'Monasticon' refers to it as being in the possession of John Selden. The later history of the book is very uncertain. The Bishop of Llandaff has shown ('Archæologia Cambrensis,' 1868), that it was again in the possession of the Llandaff Chapter in 1693. But, in 1696, it seems to have become the property of Mr. Davies, of Llanerch, who supplied one leaf of the present binding. Since that time it had been completely lost sight of until within the last few years. Its existence was unknown when, in 1840, the 'Liber' was edited (from MS. copies in the libraries of Hengwrt and of Jesus College, Oxford), for the Welsh MSS. Society, by the Rev. W. J. Rees. It is now the property of Philip B. Davies-Cooke, Esq., of Owston Park, Doncaster.

The MS. copy in the Hengwrt library contains a pen-and-ink drawing, which is reproduced as a frontispiece to Mr. Rees' edition, and is called a figure of St. Teilo. This, however, it certainly is not. It is a copy of a remarkable bronze figure which remains fastened to the original leaf of the binding of the MS. This figure, which is in full relief, is 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and portions of the gilding with which it was formerly covered are still visible. It occupies the centre of the cover, and represents not St. Teilo, but Our Lord Himself in glory, seated on a rainbow. The right hand is uplifted in the act of blessing; the left rests on a closed book (the Liber Vita). This figure closely resembles one in the gable of the west front of Llandaff Cathedral (Part I. § VI.) and may possibly have been designed by the same artist.

The leaf of the binding to which it is fastened is a thick oaken board, once overlaid with gold and silver, and partially jewelled. Some of the small pins which fixed the metal-work to the oak remain; and some traces of silver exist round the bronze figure. The rest seems to have been cut away with a knife. The other leaf of the cover (oaken board) was supplied by Mr. Robert Davies in

1696, and bears this inscription:—"Librum hunc temporis injurias passum novantiquo tegmine muniri curavit R. D. 1696."

This original MS. has been used as the authority for all the extracts printed in Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs' 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.' A full account of the MS., by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, will be found in the 'Archæologia Cambrensis' for 1868.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

IT is sometimes asserted that the see of Llandaff is the most ancient which now exists in Great Britain; but this statement, even when explained as meaning that the see is the most ancient which remains in its original place, is at least doubtful. The date of actual foundation of the four Welsh sees is altogether unknown, and we can only approach it by noting the recorded date of each founder's death. Bishop Daniel, the founder of Bangor, died in A.D. 584: St. David in 601: St. Kentigern, the probable founder of St. Asaph, in 612; in which year also died Dubricius, the founder of Llandaff. Llanbadarn, a see which existed but a short time, was founded by St. Padarn, a contemporary of St. David and St. Teilo. These dates afford no evidence as to the higher antiquity of any one of the Welsh sees. It is even uncertain whether Canterbury, dating from St. Augustine's consecration in 597, be not as ancient as Llandaff.*

* The great antiquity sometimes claimed for the See of Llandaff may possibly be referred to the supposed foundation of the see by the shalowy King Lucius, *circa* A.D. 180. The 'Liber Landavensis' (12th century,—p. 65) gives the story of the conversion of Lucius by missionaries sent to Britain by the Pope Eleutherus, or Eleutherius, but without special reference

The manner in which the ecclesiastical organization of Roman Wales was replaced by a purely British arrangement, when the four existing sees were founded, each diocese being conterminous with a new principality, has been already described (Introduction to the present volume). The see of Llandaff was founded for the principality of Gwent (Monmouthshire), and ultimately for that of Morganwg (Glamorganshire). Its founders were—St. Dubricius or Dyfryg, who had resigned the see for some time before his death in 612—and his successor St. Teilo, the date of whose death is unknown. In accordance with the earliest custom of the Welsh Church, the church of Llandaff was named from its principal founder, as St. Teilo was always held to have been, notwithstanding the establishment of the see under his predecessor Dyfryg.^b Teilo was the chief of the three saints (the others were Dyfryg and Oudocus, the third bishop), who were regarded as the patrons of Llandaff. The diocese is sometimes called “the diocese of Teilo,” and the Bishop of Llandaff is (almost always in earlier documents) “Episcopus Teilian,” “Escob

to Llandaff. But the Triads connect the story directly with this see, where “Lleirwg (Lucius) made the first church, which was the first in the Isle of Britain.” For the evidence about Lucius see *Haddan and Stubbs*, ‘Councils,’ I. pp. 25, 26. “It would seem that the bare story of the conversion of a British prince (*temp.* Eleutheri) originated in Rome during the 5th or 6th centuries; almost 300 or more years after the date assigned to the story itself; that Bede in the 8th century introduced it into England, and that by the 9th century it had grown into the conversion of the whole of Britain; while the full-fledged fiction, connecting it specially with Wales and with Glastonbury, and entering into details, grew up between centuries 9 and 12.”—*Id.* p. 26.

^b The dedications of the Welsh churches have been carefully examined and tabled by the Rev. Rice Rees in his ‘Essay on the Welsh Saints,’ London, 1836. The earliest churches are named after their founders (p. 64).

Teilaw"—the Bishop of Teilo. The earlier Welsh form, however, was not retained here, as it was at St. David's and St. Asaph.

The 'Book of Llandaff,' compiled A.D. 1120—1133^c by "Magister Galfridus," brother of Urban, the first bishop placed in the see by Norman Conquerors, contains lives of Dubricius and of Teilo. But they cannot claim even an approach to history, and any attempt to extract from them what grains of truth they may contain would be worse than useless. They tell us, however, what was believed—or at least what it was wished should be believed—in the twelfth century concerning the founders of the church of Llandaff; and a short abstract of each life may here be given.

[DYFRYG or DUBRICIUS was the son of Eurddil, daughter of Pebiau, King of Ergyng (Archenfield, a district of Monmouthshire). Pebiau, discovering the pregnancy of Eurddil, was greatly enraged, and ordered her to be thrown into the river, tied in a sack. The river flung her forth; and when she was placed alive on a blazing funeral pile, fire would not harm her. Those who sought on the following day for her bones, found her sitting unharmed, and holding in her arms her new-born son. Pebiau was struck with awe. Mother and child were brought to him, and the touch of the child's hands instantly cured the king of a disease to which he had been long subject.

Dyfryg "increased daily in growth and knowledge." The fame of his learning spread far through Britain. "When he became a man" scholars and doctors flocked to him from all quarters; and among them is expressly mentioned Teilo. "He retained 2000 clergy for seven successive years" at Henllan, on the Wye (Hentland, in Herefordshire), and taught them "during another space of time" in Ynys Eurddil, an island in the Wye, where he founded an oratory. On one occasion Dubricius and his

^c See Part I., § II., note ^c.

"family" visited St. Illtyd, who ruled a great monastic establishment or "college" at Caerworgern, where he ordained St. Sampson, afterwards Archbishop of Dol, in Brittany, deacon, priest, and bishop, on the same day.^d (The life had not mentioned the ordination of Dyfrig himself, or his episcopal consecration. It would seem that this, and the foundation of the see at Llandaff, must have taken place long before.) Various miracles are then recorded; and at length Dyfrig, "being weary through infirmities and old age, resigned the laborious office of a bishop," and for many years lived the life of a hermit in the Isle of Bardsey, where he died and was buried. Then follows an account of the translation of his relics to Llandaff, by Bishop Urban, in 1120—an account which is no doubt authentic. The relics were removed from Bardsey in the presence of David, Bishop of Bangor, and of Griffith, King of North Wales. When brought to Llandaff they were placed "to be washed with water after so long a journey" in three basins before the altar of St. Peter and the three local saints. "By the touch of the holy relics the water bubbled as if a red-hot stone had been thrown into it." They were then, as has been said (Appendix A to Pt. I.), "placed in a fitting tomb."

A life of Dubricius, founded on this in the Book of Llandaff, was written by Benedict of Gloucester, later in the century. In the interval the famous Book of Geoffrey of Monmouth had appeared, and the legends which it contains were used by the later biographer of the saint. One of them is the story of the coronation of Arthur by Du-

^d The Life of St. Sampson, also in the 'Book of Llandaff,' does not mention this. Sampson there beholds a vision of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. They tell him that he is "pre-elected to be a bishop" and "confirm him with a heavenly blessing." The next day he is consecrated by Dubricius—here called "*Occidentalis Britannie Archiepiscopus*"—For this archiepiscopal claim see Introduction to this volume.

bricius. There was also a Llandaff legend (which does not appear in the first life) asserting that Dubricius had been consecrated by St. Germanus—an assertion which is impossible, if the year 612 is accepted as the true date of Dubricius' death.*

St. TEILO, the second bishop and chief founder of Llandaff, was also called Eliud—a corruption, according to his biographer, of the Greek Helios, “for his learning shone as the sun.” He was taught as a boy by Dubricius, and afterwards abode for some time in the college or monastery of Paulinus or “Pawl Hen,” at Whitland, in Caermarthen-shire—a place which seems at that time to have been the chief centre of learning, at least in South Wales. There St. David was his fellow-student; and in some manner, which is not clearly explained in the life, it appears that Teilo accompanied St. David to his monastery in Glyn Rosyn, the site of the future cathedral. Many miracles are recorded as having occurred there; and, warned by an angel, Teilo, David, and Padarn proceeded thence to Jerusalem, “to receive the rewards of their warfare.” Arrived in the holy city, they were met by the “clergy,” who led them into the “Church of the Lord,” and then watched attentively their choice of seats—touching which they had been admonished by an angel that he who chose a certain seat should be consecrated bishop. “For there were in the church from ancient times three seats appointed by the elders; two whereof were made of divers metals, and with skilful workmanship; the third was cedar, and had no outward ornament besides what nature gave to it: which being humble, the humble Eliud chose for his seat, giving up the more

* Although not in the first life, this assertion is found in the ‘*Liber Landavensis*,’ p. 66. It is there said that Germanus and Lupus, “super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britanniae, beatum Dubricium, summum doctorem, a Rege, et ab omni parochia electum, archiepiscopum consecraverunt.”

costly ones to his brethren—which being seen, all who were present fell on their faces before St. Eliud, saying, ‘Hail, holy Teilo! and grant that thy prayers to the Lord may be beneficial to us; because to-day thou art exalted above thy brethren, for thou hast sat in the seat of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he preached the kingdom of God to our fathers.’” All three were then consecrated bishops—Teilo in the room of Peter, David in that of James. Gifts were made to them. Padarn received a staff and a choral cap; David a wonderful altar; and Teilo a bell which “exceeded every organ in sweetness of sound”—healed the sick, condemned the perjured, and sounded every hour of its own accord. Teilo then returned to Britain, and undertook the care of Llandaff, whence Dubricius had retired. Shortly afterwards Britain was ravaged by the “yellow pestilence.” The people died in great numbers; and Teilo, leaving Wales with his clergy and “the remains of the nation,” went first into Cornwall and thence to Armorica, where he was welcomed by St. Samson, already Archbishop of Dol. After a time he returned to Llandaff, first miraculously binding to a rock in the sea an enormous winged dragon (*draco volucris*) or viper (*viperu*), which had been ravaging Armorica, and arriving in Cornwall in time to deliver the viaticum to King Gerennius, who had received him on his way, and was now dying. At Llandaff he remained to the end of his life, “holding supremacy over all the churches of the whole of southern Britain, according to the appointment of the fathers who consecrated him at Jerusalem, as before mentioned.”^f His successor Oudocceus, and many others, came to him “that they might imitate him in conduct and doctrine.”

^f This is, of course, the Llandaff statement. In Rhyddmarch’s ‘Life of St. David’ the story of the seats is referred to, but is not told at length. But the Patriarch, “divina fultus electione,” consecrates St. David to the Archbishopric. (See Introduction to this volume.)

At the death of Teilo, three churches disputed for the privilege of obtaining his body : Penaly, near Tenby, because his ancestors had been buried there ; Llandeilo Fawr, in Carmarthenshire, because he had lived there in retirement, and because " he there gloriously ended his life ;"^a and Llandaff, the place of his see. The dispute could not be settled ; but after a night of fasting and prayer the rival clergy beheld in the morning three bodies precisely alike. Thus the three churches possessed each its treasure. But, adds the Llandaff writer, " it was known to all the people, by the great number of miracles and the accounts of ancient writers, that he was certainly taken to Llandaff."]

Such are the legends of St. Dubricius and St. Teilo. They throw little or no light on the foundation and early days of Llandaff ; and it would be unsafe to rely on them for any question of chronology. But it is to be remarked that these lives, as well as that of St. David, by Rhyddmarch, connect closely, as contemporaries and as fellow-labourers, St. Teilo, St. David, and St. Padarn. In the Triads also they are placed together as " the three blessed visitors of the Isle of Britain." " They were so called because they went as guests to the houses of the noble, the plebeian, the native, and the stranger, without accepting either fee or reward, or victuals or drink ; but what they did was to teach the faith in Christ to every one without pay or thanks. Besides which, they gave to the poor and needy gifts of their gold and silver, their raiment and provisions."^b That Teilo certainly laboured in the country which then was, or at least had been, St. David's diocese, is proved by the number of churches there dedicated in his name, and no doubt founded by him. Llandeloi, one of

^a This statement is somewhat at variance with the former assertion that Teilo " remained at Llandaff until the end of his life." But it is useless to attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies of these legends.

^b Rees, ' Welsh Saints,' p. 197.

these, is within a few miles of St. David's. But whether such labours were carried on in conjunction with St. David, or after his death, is entirely uncertain. We may gather from the lives that Teilo presided at Llandaff over a "familia" or monastery of the same character as that established by David at Menyw or Menevia. He may have continued the school of Dubricius; but his own college, says tradition, afterwards became known as "Bangor Deilo"—"the great 'choir' or college of Teilo."¹ The shelter and seclusion required for such an establishment, and especially the need of a neighbouring river or of water springs, will explain greatly the unusual positions of the three principal Welsh cathedrals. That of Llandaff occupies, there can be little doubt, the site of the humble oratory erected by Teilo or Dubricius, first perhaps for himself as a solitary, and then enlarged or rebuilt for the use of the many scholars and religious who flocked to him as their teacher.

Records preserved in the 'Book of Llandaff' (compiled about 1133) furnish the names of numerous bishops between Teilo and Urban—the first appointed under Norman influence. "These records, however, are nothing better or worse than an uncritical compilation by interested and unhistorical compilers, who had no scruple, if a title deed was wanting, in composing one according to their own view of the facts; and they undoubtedly contain, in their later period, genuine documents; although even down to the time shortly preceding their compilation, they are proved inaccurate, whenever independent evidence exists to test them. It is impossible to make out a consistent list of successive bishops from them; and the attempt to do so, or to escape difficulties by imagining a whole band of suffragans to Oudoceus, who disappear altogether afterwards, falls to the ground with the untenable assumption upon which it rests—of the historical accuracy of the

¹ Rees, p. 243.

charters. But enough exists, when taken together with other evidence, to establish amply the continued existence of the bishopric from the time of Dubricius.”* During this purely Welsh period, there is little to record, though many of the documents in the Book of Llandaff well illustrate the character of the Welsh, both national and ecclesiastical, and the position of the Church amongst them. The Church in North Wales, at the instigation of Elbod, bishop of Bangor, adopted the Roman Easter about the year 768. In 777 it is said to have been adopted in South Wales; and from about the end of the ninth century there is evidence that the South Welsh dioceses were more or less in close communion with the English Church. This was no doubt a result of the subjection of Wales by English princes. It is asserted that Cyfeiliawg, Bishop of Llandaff, was consecrated by Æthelred, Archbishop of Canterbury (870—889); and this may possibly be true, although the statements in the Book of Llandaff that, from about 972, the bishops of Llandaff, and those of St. David’s from A.D. 995, were consecrated by Archbishops of Canterbury, are hopelessly inconsistent in their dates, and are to be regarded as of very doubtful accuracy. It is also a ‘Book of Llandaff’ statement that in 958 or 959 the limits of the diocese of Llandaff, and of the Kingdom of Morganwg, were settled by Eadgar king of England as suzerain over Owen, king of Deheubarth and over Morgan, king of Morganwg.

A remarkable relic of the early church of Llandaff is the MS. book of the Gospels, now preserved at Lichfield, and called the ‘Book of St. Chad.’ This book was given to Llandaff early in the ninth century; and before the compilation of the ‘Book of Llandaff’ in 1133, had found its way—in what manner, or by what kind of transaction is entirely unknown—to the Cathedral Church of Mercia.¹

* Haddan and Stubbs, ‘Councils,’ i. p. 147.

¹ The book was certainly at Lichfield about the year 1020—

The MS. itself, dating from the latter part of the eighth century, is of the Hiberno-Saxon school, though it would not be easy to determine whether it was written in Ireland, Wales, or Northumbria. There is a tradition that it was written by St. Gildas. On the margins of many of its pages are entries in Welsh, most of which relate to gifts of land to Llandaff; but one records that "Gelhi son of Arihtiud bought this Evangelium from Cingal, and gave him a very good horse for it. Gelhi offered it on the altar to God and to Saint Teilo, for the good of his soul." There is also recorded the grant of freedom to a serf, made in the presence of the clergy and laymen of Llandaff.

Many synodical acts of discipline, exercised by Bishops of Llandaff over South Welsh princes, are mentioned in the 'Book of Llandaff.' Thus Brochmael, king of Gwent, and his "family" are excommunicated by Bishop Cyfeiliawg for wrong done to the bishop and his "family." On this occasion, part of the satisfaction enjoined upon Brochmael was the payment to the bishop of a plate of pure gold, the length and breadth of the bishop's face. Tewdwr, king of Brecknock, is excommunicated by Bishop Libiau for stealing the bishop's dinner by force from the Abbey of Llancors. For this insult Libiau exacted the "price of a bishop"—100 mancuses of gold, sevenfold. Such entries reveal the wild and unsettled state of the country; but they also indicate that the episcopal power was by no means inconsiderable. Two of the later bishops are recorded as men of special wisdom and learning. In 1023 died "Bledri, bishop of Teilaw, the first scholar in Wales, on which account he was called Bledri the Wise, and so much he loved knowledge that he required every priest to support instruction from literary works in his church, that

during the episcopate of Leofgar—when, as is recorded by an entry on the margin, "Godwin, son of Earwig, purged himself on these gospels from the suspicion of a deadly crime."

every one might know his duty to God and man.”^m And in 1043 died “Joseph, Bishop of Teilaw; a very wise, learned, and godly man. He instituted good order on the saints’ days; that prayer to God, showing good works, almsgiving, proper remembrance of God and His saints and their praiseworthy works, should alone take place.”ⁿ

In the year 1056, according to the ‘Book of Llandaff’ HERWALD, a Welshman notwithstanding his name, was elected by the Welsh princes, consecrated by the Bishop of St. David’s to the see of Llandaff, and was confirmed in that see by Kinsi, Archbishop of York, at a council held in London in 1059. The Canterbury Rolls assert that Herwald was consecrated by Lanfranc; but other dates in the same rolls again contradict this statement, although it is possible that Herwald received investiture at the hands of the Conqueror in 1071, after Lanfranc’s appointment to Canterbury. For whatever reason, Herwald was placed under an interdict by Archbishop Anselm. He died in 1104—according to the Annals of Margam, at the age of 100.

The see remained unfilled for four years and a half after Herwald’s death; and then

[A.D. 1107—1134] URBAN, apparently a Welshman (his name seems to be a Latinization of the Welsh “Gwrgant;” see *post*,—Bishop Nicholas ap Gwrgant) was consecrated at Canterbury by Anselm, on the same day (August 11) with four other bishops.^o The Canterbury Register contains the profession of canonical obedience made by Urban to Anselm and his successors. Urban had not been elected,

^m Brut y Tywysogion, s. a. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 288.) The ‘Liber Landavensis’ makes 1022 the year of Bledri’s death.

ⁿ Id. id. s. a. (Haddan and Stubbs, p. 292.) The Llandaff date (1046) again differs.

^o These were William Giffard (Winchester), Roger (Sarum), William Warelwast (Exeter), and Reinhelm (Hereford).

like his predecessor, by the Welsh princes; and whatever relations may have existed before his time between the Welsh and the English Churches, he was the first bishop imposed by aliens on a Welsh diocese.

From the beginning of his episcopate Urban was involved in a dispute with the Bishops of St. David's and of Hereford, concerning the limits of their respective dioceses. Three times he appealed to the Popes—Calixtus II., Honorius II., and Innocent II.; and, according to Matthew Paris and Henry of Huntingdon, he died in 1134 on his way to prosecute his cause at Rome. His death brought about a settlement in favour of St. David's.^p The see, as Urban complains, had been greatly impoverished; and a letter (A.D. 1119) from Calixtus II., to the clergy and nobles of Llandaff—the latter for the most part Norman lords in Glamorgan—charges them to restore its lands to the Church, “pro eo quod per vos bonis suis expoliata et fere in nichilum redacta sit.”^q

Urban, as has been already mentioned, translated the relics of St. Dubricius from Bardsey to Llandaff, and began the rebuilding of his Cathedral. In 1120 (before the work was begun) an indulgence was granted by Ralph of Séez, Archbishop of Canterbury, to all who should contribute to the rebuilding; and in 1125 the Papal Legate, John of Crema, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, confirmed and enlarged this indulgence. He had been, he says, himself to Llandaff, and found the church in great poverty. Bishop

^p The See of St. David's gained and retained the district claimed by it; but the dispute was once or twice renewed, and indeed lingered until the year 1236, and possibly later. In 1236 Gregory IX. writes from Viterbo directing the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Dean of Worcester, to determine the boundaries of the Welsh sees and of Hereford.—Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 464.

^q ‘*Liber Landavensis*,’ p. 89.

Urban was rebuilding the Cathedral; but could not complete it without help.* The completion of Urban's church has nowhere been recorded.

Of many succeeding bishops little is known. The see was vacant after Urban's death until

[A.D. 1140—1147] UCHTRYD was consecrated by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Several letters of Gilbert Foliot, afterwards Bishop successively of Hereford and London, but Abbot of Gloucester from 1139 to 1148 (he was the well-known opponent of Becket), are written to Uchtryd. Uchtryd was a married man, with a family (one of his daughters married Jorwerth ap Owen, Lord of Caerleon), and the 'Brut y Tywysogion' mentions him as a man of learning and piety. "He regulated the Sundays, holidays, and saints' days, and caused them to be observed with religious services where that had not been done willingly and customarily."^s

[A.D. 1148—1183.] NICHOLAS AP GWRGANT succeeded. The Brut calls Gwrgant a bishop (*escob*), and there can be little doubt that we are to recognise in "Gwrgant" the Bishop Urban who rebuilt the Cathedral of Llandaff. Bishop Nicholas restored the "sanctuary of the churches which had been neglected since the time of Jestin, son of Gwrgan . . . so that great part of the see of Teilo acquired the sanctuary of the churches, which occasioned greater quietness in Morganwg than in any other part of Wales." Bishop Nicholas was one of the seven bishops suspended

* "Ad Landavensem Ecclesiam ex debito nostræ legationis accedentes, et paupertate oppressam et bonis suis ac possessionibus expoliatam invenimus. Veruntamen venerabilis frater noster Urbanus, ejusdem loci Episcopus, ecclesiam ipsam reedificare a fundamentis incepit; quod sine elemosynarum vestrarum auxiliis non poterit consummare."—Brief of John of Crema, *Lib. Landav.*, pp. 46, 47.

^s Brut y Tywysogion. Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 352.

(September 16, 1170) by Pope Alexander III. for joining in the coronation of Henry II.'s son, "contra jura Cantuariensia."

The see remained vacant until filled by

[A.D. 1186—1191.] WILLIAM SALTMARSH. He had been Prior of Bristol. His predecessors were all certainly Welshmen, and he is the first of alien race who filled the see. It was during his episcopate that (July, 1187) Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Wales as Legate; and (March, April, 1188), accompanied by the famous Giraldus Cambrensis (then the Archbishop's chaplain and Archdeacon of Brecknock), preached the crusade throughout the country. In each of the cathedral churches (and of course at Llandaff) the archbishop celebrated mass, "tanquam investituræ ejusdam signum."^t

[A.D. 1193—1218.] HENRY, PRIOR OF ABERGAVENNY, succeeded, after another vacancy. This bishop organized the Chapter of Llandaff. He appointed fourteen prebends, eight of which were assigned to priest vicars, four to deacons, and two to subdeacons. Before his time, according to Godwin, the lands of the see had been held in common, and had not been apportioned between the bishop and his clerks.^u Bishop Henry assisted at the coronation of King John in 1199.

^t "De nullo vero Cantuariensi antistite legitur, vel post subjectionem istam" (of the Welsh Church to the English) "vel ante, Cambriæ fines intrasse, præter Baldwinum solum . . . qui legationis hujus occasione, et salutiferæ crucis obsequio, terram tam hypsidam, tam inaccessibilem et remotam, laudabili devotione circumivit, et in singulis Cathedralibus ecclesiis tanquam investituræ ejusdam signum missam celebravit."—Gir. Cambrens., *Itin. Cambriæ*, ii. 1.

^u "Iste Henricus de Bergaueny constituit xiiii^a prebendas in sancta Cathed. Landauensi et tot adhuc deberent esse: quarum xiiii^m prebendarum secundum statuta nostra octo defungi debent per vicarios sacerdotes, quatuor vero per vicarios

[A.D. 1219—1230.] WILLIAM, Prior of Goldclive, was introduced by Papal provision—that is, by the authority of Pandulph, the legate. The Canons of Llandaff had prayed the King (Henry III., then a boy) and the Legate for liberty to elect their own bishop; but their prayer was disregarded.

[A.D. 1230—1240.] ELIAS OF RADNOR, Treasurer of Hereford. After his death, WILLIAM OF CHRIST CHURCH was elected bishop; but there is no record of his consecration, and he resigned some time before 1244, in which year the see was declared vacant “per resignationem.”

[A.D. 1245—1253.] WILLIAM OF BURGH was then appointed. Wales and the Welsh Church were at this time in a miserable condition. The country itself, oppressed by foreign lords, was, according to Matthew Paris, losing its cultivation, its commerce and even its sheep—“et etiam virorum ecclesiasticorum cythara conversa est in luctum et lamenta.” In 1247 the Bishop of St. David’s died “quasi præ dolore contabescens.” In the same year the Bishops of St. Asaph and of Bangor, whose dioceses had been ravaged by fire and sword, were obliged to beg for help—“mendicare ut de alieno viverent cogebantur”—and Bishop William of Llandaff “cæcitate percuitur.” He was blind for seven years before his death.*

[A.D. 1254—1256.] JOHN DE LA WARE. He had been Abbot of Margam.

[A.D. 1257—1266.] WILLIAM OF RADNOR was elected by the Chapter in defiance of the Crown. Wales was in successful revolt at this time. Henry III. was to meet his army at Chester August 11, 1257, and a second army was

diaconos, et alie due prebende defungi debent per vicarios subdiaconos.”—Memorandum of the fifteenth century at the end of the *Liber Landavensis*; the original MS. now at Owston, near Doncaster. Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 393.

* Matt. Paris, p. 739.

to invade South Wales from Bristol. The certificate of election, dated July 28, 1256, says that the Chapter had elected William of Radnor their treasurer, and trusts that the king would not be displeased "*quod preces vestras ad præsens exaudire nequivimus.*" William had been known to the Chapter from his childhood, and the Church of Llandaff was always desirous of electing clerks "*de gremio suo (dummodo digni extiterint)*"^y It seems to have been thought good policy at such a time to accept the election. William was consecrated in St. Paul's, London, by Archbishop Boniface.

In 1260 an excommunication and interdict were issued against Llewelyn, and letters to this effect were sent to the four Welsh bishops.

[A.D. 1266—1287.] WILLIAM DE BRUCE, Canon of Llandaff. —(The name is variously spelt "*de Breuse,*" "*de Breos,*" "*De Breos,*" and "*Bruys.*" In the legend round the mitre of the effigy, in the Lady Chapel, it is "*Brews.*")—Llewelyn and his brother David, the last princes who held sovereign power in Wales, were slain during the episcopate of William de Bruce. Little is recorded concerning him; but it is probable, as has been said (Part I., § XVIII.), that the beautiful Lady Chapel in Llandaff Cathedral was built in his time. He was buried in that chapel, and his effigy still remains there.

After the death of William de Bruce, PHILIP DE STAUNTON was elected to the see of Llandaff. He was Precentor of Wells, and after his election he journeyed to Bordeaux, taking to Edward I., who was then in Gascony, the formal signification of the choice made by the Chapter of Llandaff. The king approved; but Philip was never consecrated, and it is evident from a letter of the king to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, that the confirmation of his election was

^y The Certificate of Election is printed at length in Haddan and Stubbs, '*Councils,*' i. p. 484.

hindered by the Clares, the great lords of Glamorgan. In 1290, Edward granted a life interest to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in the temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante." The see remained vacant until 1295, in which year (before May) Philip de Staunton died. Apparently before his death, in October, 1294, John of Monmouth was appointed to Llandaff by Papal provision. He was not consecrated until

[A.D. 1296 (Feb. 10)—1323.] JOHN OF MONMOUTH had been a canon of Lincoln. He procured for the see and attached to it the rectory of Newland, in the Forest of Dean. In Godwin's time the tomb of this bishop, much mutilated, remained in the Lady Chapel. His successor was

[A.D. 1323—1347.] JOHN OF EGGLESCLIFF, a Dominican, who had been a titular bishop of Bethlehem, and afterwards of Connor, in Ireland. He was buried in the Church of the Dominicans, at Cardiff.

[A.D. 1347—1361.] JOHN PASCAL, a Carthusian, of Ipswich, a member of a good Suffolk family. He had been a suffragan of Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, and was a preacher of great eloquence.

[A.D. 1361—1382.] ROGER CRADOCK was translated from Waterford. He was a Franciscan.

[A.D. 1383—trans. to Chichester 1385.] THOMAS RUSHOOK, a Dominican, and confessor to Richard II.

[A.D. 1386—trans. to Rochester 1389.] WILLIAM BOTTLESHAM, titular Bishop of Pavada or Bethlehem.

[A.D. 1389—1393.] EDMUND BROMFIELD succeeded. He had been a Benedictine of Bury St. Edmunds, and became so famous for his learning as to provoke the jealousy of his fellow monks. They succeeded in getting rid of him by obtaining his appointment at Rome as proctor for the Benedictine Order. On the death of the Abbot of Bury the Pope named Bromfield in his stead; but when he returned to England as Abbot he was seized and impris-

soned as having violated the famous "Statute of Provisors" (25th Ed. III.). After an imprisonment of nearly ten years he was nominated to the see of Llandaff, by the Pope's desire, but with the consent of the King. His tomb remains in the cathedral (Part I., § xx.).

[A.D. 1393—trans. to Worcester 1395.] **TIDEMAN OF WINCH-COMB**, Abbot of the Cistercian house of Beaulieu.

[A.D. 1395—1396.] **ANDREW BARRETT**.

[A.D. 1396—trans. to Lichfield 1398.] **JOHN BURGILL**, a Dominican.

[A.D. 1398—trans. to Worcester 1407.] **THOMAS PEVERELL**, translated to Llandaff from Ossory.

[A.D. 1408—1423.] **JOHN DE LA ZOUCH**, a Franciscan.

[A.D. 1425—1440.] **JOHN WELLS**, also a Franciscan.

[A.D. 1441—1458.] **NICHOLAS ASHBY**, Prior of Westminster.

[A.D. 1458—1476.] **JOHN HUNDEN**, a Franciscan, Prior of King's Langley. This bishop voluntarily resigned his see, and is said to have been "pardoned;" but for what offence is not evident.

[A.D. 1476—1478.] **JOHN SMITH**, also possibly a Franciscan, but this is not certain. He was, however, buried in the Church of the Franciscans in London.

[A.D. 1478—1496.] **JOHN MARSHALL**, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Canon of Windsor. Bishop Marshall's work in his cathedral has been mentioned, Part I., § xx.

[A.D. 1496—1499.] **JOHN INGLEBY**, a Carthusian, and Prior of Shene.

[A.D. 1500—1516.] **MILES SALLEY**, Abbot successively of Abingdon and of Eynsham. He is said to have built much at Mathern, near Chepstow, which for a considerable time had been the favourite palace of the Bishops of Llandaff. Bishop Marshall rebuilt the church tower there; and Godwin asserts that in his time the shield of Bishop de la Zouch remained on some parts of the palace. This still belongs to the see, and is occupied as a farmhouse.

[A.D. 1517—1537.] GEORGE DE ATHEQUA, a Spanish Dominican, who had come to England in 1501, with the Princess Catherine of Arragon, and was her chaplain. He continued in the household of the Queen until her death at Kimbolton, in 1536. In February, 1537, he resigned the bishopric of Llandaff; and on the 25th of the same month his successor was appointed.

[A.D. 1537—trans. to York 1545.] ROBERT HOLGATE, Provincial Master of the Gilbertines of Sempringham, and Prior of Watton—one of the few houses of that order. He held his priorate with the bishopric of Llandaff until March, 1540, when he resigned it into the king's hands—a result of the suppression of the larger monasteries (with which Watton must have been allowed to rank) in 1538. Holgate was in great favour at Court, and after his translation to York was made President of the Council of the North. He was deprived after the accession of Mary (1554), was thrown into the Tower, released in the following year, and died in 1556. Archbishop Holgate was married.

[A.D. 1545—1563.] ANTONY KITCHIN. He was one of three bishops (the others were Paul Bush, Bishop of Bristol, and John Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester), at whose consecration Thomas Thirlby, the solitary Bishop of Westminster, assisted.² Kitchin, who was also called Dunstan, had

² After the dissolution of the greater monasteries the Abbot of Westminster became a dean, and the monks were succeeded by twelve prebendaries. A Bishopric of Westminster was also created. Thomas Thirlby was consecrated to the see (Dec. 17, 1540); and the diocese included the whole of Middlesex, except Fulham. But this arrangement did not last. After two years the diocese was merged in that of London; and in 1550 Thirlby was translated to Norwich. In the interim he retained his title as Bishop of Westminster; as appears from the record of Antony Kitchin's consecration, which took place in Westminster Abbey. The two other bishops were consecrated before the Diocese of Westminster had been merged in that of London.

been a monk of Westminster, and Prior of Gloucester Hall (established for Benedictine students), at Oxford. Afterwards he became Abbot of Eynsham; and, some time after the Dissolution, was nominated to the see of Llandaff. He is called by Godwin "*fundi nostri calamitas*," because he alienated the greater part of the manors belonging to the see, and disposed of others on long leases. Alone, of all the bishops, although in Godwin's words, "*homo Pontificiæ doctrinæ addictissimus*," he took the oath concerning the Royal Supremacy on the accession of Elizabeth, and so retained his see. Llandaff never recovered the spoliation (probably to a great extent, as at Exeter and elsewhere, the enforced spoliation) of this bishop; but it never had ranked among the richest sees, as is asserted by Hallam.*

Enderbie (*'Cambria Triumphans,'* II., bk. ii.), says that Bishop Kitchin . . . "enduring all the tempestuous changes

* "Almost every bishopric was spoiled by their" (the courtiers'), "ravenous power in this reign, either through mere alienations, or long leases, or unequal exchanges. Exeter and Llandaff, from being among the richest sees, fell into the class of the poorest. Lichfield lost the chief part of its lands to form an estate for Lord Paget." - *Const. Hist. of England*, i. p. 94 (ed. 1855). Exeter, no doubt, had been one of the wealthiest of English sees. It is true that Godwin (*de Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 593, ed. 1713) asserts that if Llandaff had possessed in his day (1601—1617) even a tenth part of the lands which "the bounty of good men" had anciently given to it, the see would have been the most wealthy in Christendom, "*cum jam vix habeat unde se sartam tectamque possit tueri*." But the '*Valor Ecclesiasticus*' sufficiently proves that this statement is greatly exaggerated; and that, at any rate, Llandaff had become a comparatively poor see long before the sixteenth century. Godwin is apparently referring to certain doubtful gifts of territory recorded in the '*Liber Landavensis*,'—to the spoliations of which Bishop Urban complained (see *ante*)—and perhaps to the claim set up against the dioceses of St. David's and Hereford.

. . . . continued till the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, and then died (and high time), having first so impoverished the bishoprick by unreasonable demises of whatever was demisable, that there was no great cause why he should live any longer. He is called Kitchen, though he might rather have been called Schullian; yet, indeed, he made his church a kitchen; and, like a schullian, swept all away, leaving poor *daff* without *lan* or *land*." Browne Willis (p. 24) asserts that he "cannot find that Kitchin alienated anything in perpetuity, unless it might be Llandaff Place in the Strand."

[A.D. 1566—1574.] HUGH JONES succeeded; the first Welshman who had filled the see for many centuries.

[A.D. 1575—1590.] WILLIAM BLETHIN, Archdeacon of Brecknock, was also a Welshman. His address to the Chapter in 1575—the year of his accession, in which he laments the ruinous condition of the Cathedral, and the scantiness of its revenues, and proposes to diminish the number of persons on the foundation—has been mentioned in Part I., § II. It has been printed in the 'Archæologia.'

[A.D. 1591—trans. to Exeter 1595.] GERVASE BABINGTON. He had been treasurer of Llandaff. From Exeter he passed in 1597 to Worcester, and died in 1610. It is to him that the saying is attributed (quoted above) that "his diocese ought to be called the Diocese of Aff, because the land had been taken away from it."

[A.D. 1595—trans. to St. Asaph 1601.] WILLIAM MORGAN; born at Guibernant, in Carnarvonshire, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was the first translator of the Bible into Welsh, a labour which was rewarded by his elevation to the see of Llandaff. Bishop Morgan did something to improve the condition of both the fabric and the revenues of the Cathedral; and his labours were continued by his successor^b—

^b "Cum de Ecclesia reficienda Cathedrali, jam ævo fatiscente

[A.D. 1601—trans. to Hereford 1617.] FRANCIS GODWIN author of the well-known ‘Catalogue of English Bishops. Francis Godwin was the son of Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1584—1590), who, by marrying a third time, encountered the grave displeasure of Queen Elizabeth. Francis was born in 1561, and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He became at an early age Rector of Sampford Orcas, in Somersetshire, Prebendary and Canon of Wells, Vicar of Weston Zoyland, and, in 1587, Sub-Dean of Exeter. Camden was his personal friend, and in 1590 he accompanied him on a journey into Wales. In 1595 Godwin resigned Weston for Bishop’s Lydiard; and in 1601 he published, in English, ‘A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, since the first planting of the Christian religion in this island; together with a brief history of their lives and memorable actions, so near as can be gathered of Antiquity.’ Lord Buckhurst, to whom Godwin was then chaplain, recommended him to the notice of the Queen, by whom, in the same year, he was raised to the see of Llandaff. A second edition of his ‘Catalogue’ was published in 1615; and in 1616 he published the Latin translation, ‘De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius,’ the form in which the book is best known. It was dedicated to James I.; and in the following year, 1617, Godwin was translated from Llandaff to Hereford.

Other works of Bishop Godwin are ‘Nuncius Inanimatus Utopiæ,’ 1629, one of the earliest suggestions for carrying on a correspondence by signals; and ‘Annals of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary,’ of which the third edition was published in 1630. The best edition of the ‘De Præsulibus Angliæ’ is that published in 1743 by Dr. Richardson, Master of Em-

et ruinam minitante totus cogitaret, ad sedem Asaphensem translatus . . . hunc laborem mihi reliquit.” — Godwin, *De Præsul. Angliæ*, p. 613.

manuel College, Cambridge, and Canon of Lincoln, who continued the Catalogue to his own time, and added numerous notes and corrections.

Bishop Godwin died in 1633. His wife was the daughter of John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter (1579—1594). He did much for Llandaff; more to the benefit of the Cathedral, as he asserts, than to that of his heirs.* Browne Willis asserts that in one respect "he set an ill-example—giving everything to his sons-in-law."

[A.D. 1618—trans. to Chichester 1619.] GEORGE CARLETON, one of the English divines sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort in 1618–19.

[A.D. 1619—trans. to St. David's, 1627.] THEOPHILUS FIELD. From St. David's he passed to Hereford in 1635, and died in 1636.

[A.D. 1627—1640.] WILLIAM MURRAY was translated to Llandaff from Kilfenora. He had been Provost of Eton. He began a suit to recover the castle and manor of Llandaff, which had been demised by Bishop Kitchin for 99 years; and would have succeeded, had he lived. Then followed the rebellion.

[A.D. 1640—1645.] MORGAN OWEN; appointed through the interest of Archbishop Laud, who has at least the merit of selecting a Welshman. After his death the see remained vacant until the Restoration. It has been said that Bishop Morgan dropped down dead on hearing of the execution of Laud ('Archæologia Cambrensis,' p. 71).

[A.D. 1660—1667.] HUGH LLOYD, Archdeacon of St. David's.

[A.D. 1667—1675.] FRANCIS DAVIES, Archdeacon of Llandaff.

[A.D. 1675—trans. to Peterborough 1679.] WILLIAM LLOYD.

* "Et labores meos, per Dei bonitatem, tam Ecclesiæ Cathedrali, quam sedi Episcopali, nonnihil profuisse, successoribus ut spero constabit, utcumque heredes conquærantur rem propriam familiarem mihi inde non mediocriter afflictam."—*De Præsul.*, p. 613 (ed. 1743).

From Peterborough, Bishop Lloyd passed in 1685 to Norwich. In 1691 he was deposed as a Nonjuror, and lived at Hammersmith until his death in 1710. He was the longest lived of the Nonjuring bishops.

[A.D. 1679—1706.] WILLIAM BEAW. He had been Fellow of New College, Oxford; and after his ejection, in 1648, went to Sweden, and there served in arms. He returned to England after the Restoration, recovered his Fellowship, and died Bishop of Llandaff, at the age of 90.

It was in the time of this bishop that the choir service was laid aside.

In the Lambeth Library (MS. DCCCIX. 49) is preserved a very curious letter from Bishop Beaw to Archbishop Tenison. With respect to the preferment in his gift, he says that if Dr. Jones had been made Bishop of Llandaff, instead of St. Asaph, he would have had no opportunity of committing simony. "However simoniacal his disposition had been, he would never have had an occasion given him to make it appear; for I have but three livings in my gift, whereof two are so lean and ill-favoured, that should they be sent to the fair, no chapman would be found to bid for them; and I have no Deanery to give or sell; and as for Prebends, such as usually fall in my gift, they are such as he that should give five pounds for any one of them, would bid too much by three." He adds that the gross value of his bishopric was 230*l.* per annum; and, after the deductions made, "I found my little bishoprick's revenues wholly swallowed up, nothing more appearing of them than would defray the charges of the quantity of vinegar, pepper, salt, and fire spent in my house." When, he says, he applied for the bishopric of St. Asaph, "it had been buzzed into the Queen's (*i.e.* Queen Mary's) ears, and your predecessor had swallowed it, that a Welsh bishop ought to be a Welshman; which was in truth the casting of a reproach upon all our late Kings and Primates

who had indifferently imposed Englishmen for bishops upon the Welsh people: and it was a groundless surmise, there not being a market town in all Wales wherein they speak not all English, and a sermon in Welsh with the most would not be understood.”)

[A.D. 1706—1724.] JOHN TYLER, Dean of Hereford.

[A.D. 1725—trans. to Peterborough 1729.] ROBERT CLAVERING, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church.

[A.D. 1729—1738.] JOHN HARRIS. With the bishopric he held the Deanery of Hereford, and afterwards that of Wells. He was buried in Wells Cathedral. Of him Cole the antiquary (MSS. in Brit. Mus. vol. xxviii.) says, “I lately heard Dr. Pettingal, my neighbour at Stoke Hamon, call this bishop one of the weakest men he ever knew raised to the episcopal order: and said that as this bishop had been abroad, where he had seen the foreign bishops have their cassocks done up before with an infinite number of little buttons, contrary to the practice of the English clergy who have none, but have their cassock double before, and so (to) lap over on either side, he introduced the fashion here. But it went no further. This is a trifle; but it characterizes, perhaps, more than weightier matters.”

[A.D. 1739—trans. to Chichester 1740.] MATTHIAS MAWSON: Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. From Chichester he passed to Ely in 1754, and died in 1770.

[A.D. 1740—trans. to Salisbury 1749.] JOHN GILBERT; Dean of Exeter, and Canon of Christ Church. From Salisbury Bishop Gilbert, in 1757, was translated to York. He died in 1761.

[A.D. 1749—1755.] EDWARD CRESSETT.

[A.D. 1755—trans. to St. Asaph 1761.] RICHARD NEWCOME. He was made bishop . . . “it lying very commodious for his living at Whitchurch (Shropshire) where he had built a

very neat and elegant parsonage-house." — *Cole's MS.* Brit. Mus., vol. xxviii. p. 14 (from notes found in Browne Willis's own copy of his 'Llandaff').

[A.D. 1761—trans. to Bangor 1769.] JOHN EWER.

[A.D. 1769—trans. to St. Asaph in the same year.] JONATHAN SHIPLEY.

[A.D. 1769—trans. to Salisbury 1782.] SHUTE BARRINGTON.

He was the youngest son of John, first Viscount Barrington. From Salisbury he passed to Durham in 1791, and died in 1826, aged 92. With the exception of the episcopate of Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, that of Bishop Barrington is the longest on record in the English Church. It extended over fifty-six years. That of Bishop Wilson was fifty-seven years in length. A beautiful monument by Chantrey, with a kneeling figure of Bishop Barrington, is placed in Durham Cathedral. It is not generally known that Bishop Barrington left by will 100*l.* per annum to the Bishops of Llandaff and of Salisbury, and 150*l.* to the Bishop of Durham, for the benefit of the families of their poor clergy.

[A.D. 1782—1816.] RICHARD WATSON,—the son of a Westmorland "statesman," was born at Heversham in that county in 1737. He was educated at Cambridge, where he afterwards became Regius Professor of Divinity. He lived for some time at Cambridge after he was raised to the see of Llandaff; and then made his permanent abode at Calgarth Park, on the bank of Windermere. During his episcopate of thirty-four years he visited his diocese but rarely. When the see of St. Asaph became vacant in 1806, Bishop Watson exerted himself to procure his translation thither; and expressed much disappointment at being "neglected." He did nothing for the diocese of Llandaff; but in Westmorland he became a great agriculturist and planter. He was the first to introduce the larch in that district,—a service for which Wordsworth, who

greatly disliked the character of the tree (only beautiful for a short time in spring), hardly thanked him. He thought differently himself. "The county of Westmorland," he writes in a letter to a friend "will long have cause to thank the Bishop of Llandaff" (himself) "for the example he has set, not of chaffering with peasants about the price of bullocks, but of making bad land good, and of introducing new modes of husbandry, and of planting mountains."

Out of Westmorland, Bishop Watson is now best remembered by his 'Apology for Christianity,' published in 1776, as an answer to Gibbon's "sneers,"—"only a month's work in the long vacation" he writes;—and by his 'Apology for the Bible'—a reply to the Infidel Paine, published in 1796. By both works he did good service. In 1785 he published a 'Collection of Theological Tracts' in six volumes, which must have been useful in its day. A Memoir and 'Recollections' of Bishop Watson, written by himself, was published by his son in 1817.

[A.D. 1816—trans. to Peterborough 1819.] HERBERT MARSH; Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

[A.D. 1819—trans. to Durham 1826.] WILLIAM VAN MILDERT. He was the last Count Palatine of Durham; and was the founder of the University there.

[A.D. 1826; trans. to Winchester 1827.] CHARLES RICHARD SUMNER.

[A.D. 1828—1849.] EDWARD COPLESTON; son of John Bradford Copleston, rector of Odiwell, Devon, and a member of a very ancient Devonshire family, was born in 1776. At Oxford he was a scholar of Corpus, and afterwards Fellow of Oriel; Vicar of St. Mary's; Professor of Poetry; and in 1814 he became Provost of his College. Bishop Copleston was one of that most remarkable company which gave so great a reputation to the Common room of Oriel, and which included Davison, Whately (Archbishop of Dublin), John

Keble, Dr. Hawkins the present Provost, and, somewhat later, John Henry Newman. In 1826 he was made Dean of Chester; but vacated that Deanery on becoming Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's, London; which positions had been held together by Bishop Sumner, and were bestowed together on his successor.

There had been no episcopal residence at Llandaff from the time of Bishop Kitchin. Succeeding bishops had for the most part lived at Mathern; but the palace there had for some time fallen into ruin. Bishops Watson and Marsh never lived in the diocese. Bishop Van Mildert rented a house near Abergavenny; and Bishop Copleston, during the earlier part of his episcopate, resided in a house rented by him near Llanstffraed, but afterwards purchased Hardwick House, near Chepstow, where he died. The net income of the see was at this time 924*l.*; and that available for the entire Chapter was 690*l.* There had been no Dean since the time of Esni (Part I. § iv., note), until 1840, when the office was revived by the Act. The Bishop was the head of the Chapter. When Bishop Copleston first entered on his duties there were few glebe houses throughout the diocese, and one service only on Sundays was very generally the custom. The bishop set himself actively to improve this condition of things; and he may be said to have laid the foundations of the great change which has been fully carried out during the episcopate of his successor,—

[A.D. 1849.] ALFRED OLLIVANT.

The diocese of Llandaff embraces the whole of Monmouthshire, together with that part of Glamorganshire which lies east of the Neath River. The western portion of the latter county, including Swansea and the district of Gower, remains annexed to the diocese of St. David's notwith-

standing a recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that it should be added to Llandaff.

Few parts of Great Britain have changed more remarkably than the diocese of Llandaff since the beginning of the present century. The population of the whole diocese, in 1801, was 95,549. In 1841 it had become 259,852, and has since that time increased in proportion. The chain of high moorland and mountain which extends through the centre of the diocese has become the scene of vast ironworks. The collieries are proportionally extensive and populous; and the town of Cardiff, which in 1801 had a population of 1018, is now one of the most important exporting stations in the country, with vast docks, and an enormous population. It is under these changed circumstances that Llandaff Cathedral has been restored; and that, with a Bishop and Dean resident, with an active Chapter, and with excellent services, it now forms a fitting centre for the thickly peopled diocese; in which, as elsewhere in Wales, the Church has arisen to new and vigorous life.

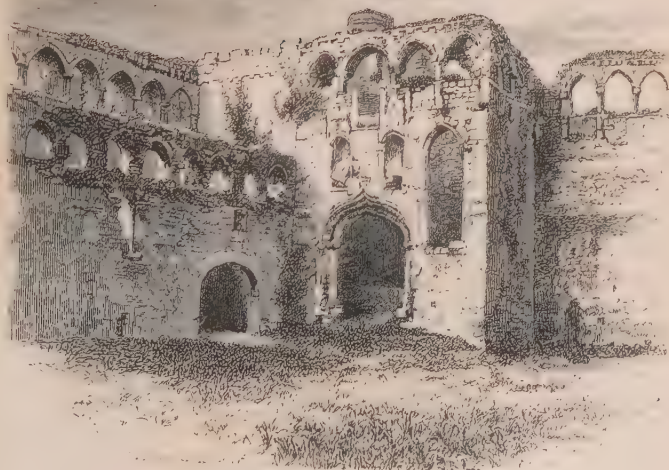
ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. SOUTH-EAST VIEW.

SAINT DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.



PORCH IN BISHOP'S GALLERY

REFERENCES.

- A. Nave.
- B. Choir.
- C. Presbytery.
- D. D. Transepts.
- E. St. Thomas's Chapel.
- F. Chapel of South Transept.
- G. G. Choir Aisles.
- H. H. Aisles of Eastern Chapels.
- I. Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.
- K. Vestibule to Lady Chapel.
- L. Lady Chapel.
- M. South Porch.
- N. N. N. Modern Buttresses.
- O. Cloister Quadrangle.

- 1. Shrine of St. David.
- 2. Shrine of St. Caradoc.
- 3. Tomb of Edmund Tudor,
Earl of Richmond.
- 4. Effigy of Bishop Anselm.
- 5. Effigy of unknown Bishop.
- 6. Effigy of a Knight.
- 7. Effigy of a Priest.
- 8. Effigy of a Knight.
- 9. Effigy of a Priest.
- 10. Tomb Slab of Silvester.
- 11. Effigy of a Priest.
- 12. Monument of a Priest.

- 13. Monument of Bishop Gover.
- 14. Monument of a Priest.
- 15. Monument of a Priest.
- 16. Monument of Bishop Morgan.
- 17. Recess containing pierced Cross.
- 18. Monument of Bishop Martyn.
- 19. Monument of Bishop Beck.
- 20. Tomb of Archdeacon Hiot.
- 21. Effigy of a Knight.
- 22. Effigy of a Priest.
- 23. Effigy of a Knight.



PLAN OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

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PART I.

History and Details.^a

THE remarkable district in which St. David's Cathedral stands, so far as it is connected with the history of the See and of the first ecclesiastical establishment here, will more fitly be described in Part II. It is sufficient to observe here that, although the Cathedrals of Llandaff and of Bangor are placed on low ground,

^a In 1716 Browne Willis published his 'Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's'; a small volume which, like his 'Surveys' of the other Welsh Cathedrals, contains much that is of great value. It has now become scarce. Little however was known of St. David's, owing to the remoteness and inaccessibility of the place, until, in 1856, the Rev. William Basil Jones (now Archdeacon of York) and Mr. Edward Augustus Freeman published their 'History and Antiquities of St. David's,' a quarto volume of 400 pages, with numerous illustrations. This work is so full and so accurate; it covers the ground so completely, and enters so minutely into every detail, whether of architecture or of history; that nothing is left for those who follow in the same field but to condense and verify the descriptions it contains. Frequent references are made to it throughout the following account; and it is proper to acknow-

and in situations which at the time of their foundation must have been remote and solitary, the position of St. David's, whilst it resembles them in these respects, is infinitely wilder and more striking. With its surrounding buildings it rises in the fern-clad valley of the little river Alan, at a distance of little more than a mile from the sea, which bounds the horizon on one side, whilst on the other rise masses of broken crags and carns, of true mountainous outline. Except the ledge here the very great use which has necessarily been made of the volume.

The authorities referred to by Messrs. Jones and Freeman are the 'Annales Cambrie' (printed in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica'); various writings of Giraldus Cambrensis (for whose connection with St. David's see Part II.); two small manuscript volumes entitled 'Menevia Sacra,' preserved in the library of the Earl of Cawdor, and compiled by Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan from 1739 to 1770; 'Collectanea Menevensia,' two folio MS. volumes in the Chapter House of St. David's, compiled by the late H. T. Payne, Archdeacon of Carmarthen; the Statute Books; the Registers; and the *Libri Communes*, containing the Chapter Accounts,—all three preserved among the archives of the Chapter.

To these authorities we must now add the first volume, published in 1869, of 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland; edited after Spelman and Wilkins, by A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs.' This contains numerous extracts and documents of the highest value for the early history of the Church and See of St. David's.

The restoration of the Cathedral was not begun until after the publication of Messrs. Jones and Freeman's History. It is now (1871) advancing rapidly; and two 'Reports' have been printed by Mr. G. G. Scott, who has directed it throughout. The first of these reports (1862) was printed before the work was begun; the second (1869) records its advance up to that date. It is scarcely necessary to add that both are of great value and interest.

Land's End, St. David's Head is the extreme westerly point of Great Britain.

The Cathedral stands on a holm of level ground, where the steep side of the valley recedes somewhat from the left bank of the river. The stream almost washes the west front of the church. On the north side are the remains of St. Mary's College, with a lofty tower: and across the Alan are the ruins of the once magnificent episcopal palace. The "Dinas," or city of St. David's—now a straggling village, and never probably of greater importance—extends along the crest of the hill south and east of the Cathedral. In approaching St. David's from the south-east (from Haverfordwest), as is most usual, nothing is seen of the Church; and the effect of the wonderful group of buildings is not a little increased by the manner in which the scene suddenly opens as the verge of the river valley is reached. The Cathedral may be approached either from the north-east or from the south-east. Both views are described *post* (§§ XXI., XXII., and see the *Frontispiece*); but whichever may be chosen, the visitor will linger for some time in admiration before he descends to the great Church and attempts to master its details.

I. Although the primitive Church founded by St. David—the church of the British bishops and princes—no doubt occupied the same site, it has altogether disappeared, and no portion of it remains in the existing Cathedral. It was swept away by Bishop *Peter de Leia* (1176–1198), who in the year 1180 began to build

an entirely new church. The work was still proceeding in 1189, when the Cardinal Legate, John of Anagnia, granted a dispensation excusing Bishop Peter de Leia, Giraldus, Archdeacon of Brecknock, and other Welshmen from joining the crusade in person, on condition that they assisted those who were going to the Holy Land, and contributed toward the completion of the Church at St. David's. Peter de Leia was the third Norman bishop. The first, Bishop Bernard—not only the first foreign bishop of St. David's, but the first stranger who filled any Welsh See—as well as his successor, David Fitzgerald, seem to have contented themselves with the simple church of their British predecessors; although (apparently as a result of the canonization of St. David by Calixtus II.) this church was solemnly dedicated in 1131 in honour of the saint, its founder, to whom St. Andrew was then joined as a second patron.

The church begun by Peter de Leia cannot have been long completed in 1220, when the “new tower,” as it was then called, fell, crushing the choir and transepts. The lower part of this central tower, with the portions of the church injured by its fall, were rebuilt between 1220 and 1248; but the tower was renewed so injudiciously that it has been threatening a second fall from that time until 1866, when, under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott, it was rendered perfectly secure. The eastern buildings adjoining the north transept were first designed when the transept itself was reconstructed; and an Early English chapel, dedi-

cated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, was then built in that situation. In 1248 the church was much injured by an earthquake. The walls of the nave were greatly shaken; and the clerestory and east end of the choir were altered, probably in consequence of the injuries they had received.

In this Early English period the chapels east of the presbytery were begun, and the work seems to have extended over a considerable time. The *Lady Chapel*, which completed the existing ground plan, was the work of Bishop *Martyn* (1290-1328). His successor, Bishop *Gower*, (1328-1347) made considerable alterations throughout the Cathedral, and apparently on a system. The aisles of the nave and presbytery, and the chapel aisles eastward, had their walls raised to the present height, and preparations were made for vaulting them, a work which was never carried out. Decorated windows were inserted throughout the aisles; and the walls were strengthened by Decorated buttresses. A chapel was thrown out from the eastern side of the south transept. The south porch, with its internal doorway, was constructed. Changes were made in the buildings attached to the north transept. A stage was added to the tower; and the remarkable rood screen, with its monuments, was erected. Bishop *Gower* built much in different parts of his diocese, and his greatest work, the episcopal palace at St. David's, now in ruin, shows either that he was himself an architect of no ordinary skill and genius, or that he employed one of the most able designers of his time.

During the Early Perpendicular period, before 1384, the large window in the south transept (afterwards much altered) was erected. And between the years 1461 and 1522 the roofs were renovated throughout the main portion of the fabric. The nave roof is generally ascribed to Owen Pole, who was treasurer from 1472 to 1509; and it seems probable that the roof of the presbytery also (which is somewhat earlier) was constructed under his direction. About this time some great buttresses were raised against the north wall of the nave, which had been bulging and insecure ever since the earthquake of 1248. Bishop *Vaughan* (1509-1522) vaulted the space east of the presbytery, the condition of which, up to his time, is very uncertain, and also remodelled and vaulted with stone the Lady Chapel and the approach to it. The central tower was raised another stage during his episcopate.

II. Thus, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, there was scarcely a time during which some work of importance was not in progress. After the changes of the sixteenth century the building seems to have been well cared for, and much pains were taken to prevent dilapidation. The chapel on the east face of the south transept was connected with the choir aisle, and converted into a vestry; and in 1630 the Cathedral was carefully whitewashed, under the direction of Bishop *Field*. But during the civil war the lead was stripped from the Lady Chapel, the aisles of the presbytery, and apparently from the transepts. The aisles, thus

denuded, fell into ruin ; and, after the Restoration, the arches on either side of the presbytery were blocked as a necessary protection. The transept roofs were reconstructed in 1696. The south arch of the central tower was closed, in order to strengthen the tower itself, which had always shown signs of weakness ; and the roof of the presbytery was propped by large, heavy beams. The stone vault of the Lady Chapel remained after the lead had been stripped from it ; but it gradually became dilapidated, and fell about the year 1775.

In 1793 a subscription was raised for rebuilding the west front. This was done by the architect Nash, whose plans were submitted to the Society of Antiquaries. The Chantry chapel of St. Thomas was converted into a Chapter-house in 1827. Bishop Field's whitewash was afterwards removed from the nave piers. In 1843 the south transept was fitted up as a parish church, and the vestry, which had been added on the east side in the seventeenth century, was so altered as to form in effect an eastern aisle. In 1846 the rood screen was partially restored ; the great window of the north transept, long blocked, was taken out and replaced by one of Decorated character, designed by Butterfield ; and in 1849 some of the Perpendicular windows which had been inserted in the south aisle of the nave were blown in by a storm, and their places were supplied by others of Decorated design, more in harmony with the work of Bishop Gower. The north aisle of the presbytery also was roofed in.

III. This was the condition of the Cathedral when, in 1862, Mr. G. G. Scott was directed to examine and report upon it, with a view to a complete restoration. He found, of course, that every part of the building stood more or less in need of reparation; but the state of the central tower was such that, before anything else could be done, it was necessary to render that secure. It was indeed in imminent danger, and "the only security," wrote Mr. Scott, "which the tower has from actual falling, is the buttressing it sustains from the walls of the transepts and the nave, though the latter have themselves severely suffered under the undue pressure thus brought upon them."^b The unusual state of dampness was another most serious evil. "I do not hesitate to say that I have never witnessed anything approaching to it in any other church. The walls, the pillars, and the floor, seem in damp weather perfectly saturated with wet, and after a few hours of heavy rain, they in many parts literally stream with water."^c This would partly be remedied by necessary reparations of the roofs and other parts of the building; but an efficient system of drainage was also called for. The great work of restoration was at once begun; and when Mr. Scott made his second report in 1869, he was able to announce that the renewal and repair of the tower—a work of considerable danger, and causing the greatest anxiety to all concerned—had been effected without a mischance; that the Cathedral was comparatively dry; and that the restoration of the choir

^b Report of 1862, p. 12.

^c *Id.*

and presbytery, with the adjoining aisles, had been nearly completed. Since that time the work in the eastern arm of the church has been well finished. The restoration of the north transept has been begun, and a thorough repair of the nave and of its beautiful roof is now (1871) in progress. A sum of nearly 20,000*l.* has already been expended on these restorations, 10,000*l.* of which was granted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; 1000*l.* was subscribed by the Dean and Chapter of St. David's, and 1000*l.* by the Lord Bishop of the See.

The character of the restorations, and the new work, will best be described in passing through the various divisions of the church. From what has already been said, it will be seen that whilst the Cathedral contains work, and important work, of many periods, the greater part of the building—the nave, choir, and presbytery, and portions of the transepts—is Transitional:—Norman passing into Early English. Of this (except on the west side of the transept) nothing whatever appears on the exterior, since the successive changes of the tower and of the aisle walls and windows have given a Late Decorated character to the outside of the church. It is noticeable that all the earlier work—both the Transitional of the nave and the Early English of the Lady Chapel—is less advanced in style than the ascertained dates would lead us to expect. Yet this may well have been intentional. In its Transitional portions especially, the Cathedral, in Mr. Scott's words, “in no degree falls short of contem-

porary structures in the grandeur of its conception, or the beauty and refinement of its details. It lingers in some degree behind many of them in the extent to which the pointed arch has supplanted the round; but this was probably owing to a desire to avoid undue height rather than to any want of advancement; for in all the details, and especially in the carved foliage, the skill and taste exhibited is of first-rate order, and the execution of the ornamental masonry could hardly be excelled. Its architect, indeed, seemed determined to plant, in the furthest extremity of our island, the standard of the utmost advancement of his art, at the period of its most determined progression. These facts render the building a wonderfully interesting and valuable landmark in architectural history; taking, in the extreme west, a position parallel to that held by Canterbury in the extreme east of the island.^d

Throughout the Cathedral, preparations for vaulting with stone, chiefly on the principle of the vaulting called "sexpartite" by Professor Willis, were made; but the vaulting, as has been said, was in no case carried out until the Perpendicular period, and then only in the Lady Chapel and the part of the church between that and the Presbytery. The remarkable ground-plan of the cathedral should also be mentioned here. This, as we have seen, was formed gradually by additions to De Leia's building. The interposition of such a closed chapel as that of Bishop Vaughan, between the presbytery and the ambulatory connecting

^d Report of 1862, p. 5.

the aisles, is probably unique, and is, at any rate, without parallel in this country.

The dark grey, reddish, and purple stones of which the Cathedral is built, and which give by their deep colouring a peculiar richness and warmth to the interior, were brought from Caerfai, one of the most picturesque of the many small bays that indent the shore. The Caerfai rocks belong to the Cambrian series—the most ancient sedimentary rocks known to geologists. They extend throughout Dewisland, and indicate that the territory of St. David has existed as an island in more than one primeval sea, when (except the few points at which they also appear, only in Wales, and at the Prawle and Bolt, the extreme southern headlands of Devonshire) the rest of Britain was still in course of formation beneath the waves. No other important building in this country is built of such primitive stone, and its use gives an additional and a fitting distinction to St. David's.* The greatest distinction of the church, and that to which it was indebted for all its glory of architecture, was, of course, the shrine of its founder. “Ty Dewi,” the “House of David,” as the cathedral was called, was, to all true Welshmen, the most sacred spot in Britain. St. David was the great patron of Wales, and a double pilgrimage to his shrine equalled the merit of one pilgrimage to Rome:—

* Igneous rocks (whatever be their date) are here not referred to. The Cambrian of St. David's is the oldest *sedimentary* rock. Oolite was used in some parts of the Cathedral during the Early English period, and again in the Perpendicular.

"Meneviam pete bis, Romam adire si vis,
 Æqua merces tibi redditur hic et ibi.
 Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum."

It should here be said that, whatever the constitution of the Church may have been from the time of St. David (see Part II.) to that of the Norman conquest of Wales, it was, afterwards, never monastic. The Chapter, from the time of the first Norman bishop, Bernard (1115-1147), consisted of the Bishop and a certain number of secular Canons. A Precentor was established in 1224, who afterwards took precedence under the Bishop. There was no Dean until the Precentor took that office and title, in accordance with the 3rd and 4th Victoria (c. 113, § 1).

IV. The *West Front* of the Cathedral, not far removed from the bank of the Alan rivulet, is, as has been said, the work of the architect Nash in the year 1793. It is probable, although this does not appear in any document of the time, that the old west front had shown some signs of insecurity; perhaps owing to the same causes which threw the north wall so much out of the perpendicular. On the inside, the western wall was not apparently interfered with; and the present west window, which is the work of Nash, seems fitted to a rear arch, which comprised a composition of lights, filling the Norman front (see *post*, § VI.). The exterior of the front presents a curious mixture of styles, though the whole composition is not without merit for the period of its erection. The attempt at Perpendicular in the great window cannot be praised.



ST DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. THE NAVE

The rest of the work is at least massive and solid. The ends of the nave-walls are propped by great masses, which serve as flying buttresses; and although it may be hoped that the whole front will be remodelled before the work of restoration is brought to an end, Mr. Scott has himself suggested that these buttresses should be retained, though under an improved form.

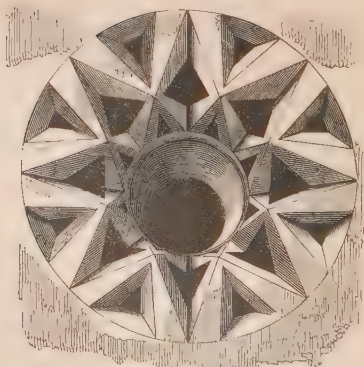
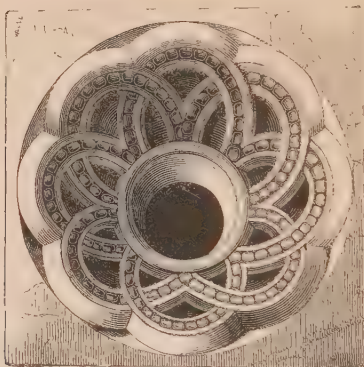
The *nave* (Plate I.), to which the western portal admits us, is generally assigned throughout to Bishop *Peter de Leia* (1176-1198). It consists of six bays. Nothing can be more striking than the effect, although, as has been truly remarked, it differs much from that usually produced by a grand late-Norman interior. In this case, the unusual variety and number of the divisions, the great richness of ornament, perhaps the colour of the stone, and certainly the superb and almost arabesque roof, combine to create an impression of great and unusual beauty, but somewhat lessen that feeling of "rocky solidity and indeterminate duration" which affects us in the vast naves of Ely, Peterborough, or Durham, and which is the true expression of Norman architecture. The nave of St. David's is, in fact, unlike that of any other church in this country. The treatment of the triforium and clerestory, forming but one main division, but with the triforium itself well marked; the massive wall, in which the triforial arches are pierced; the unusual ornaments in their tympana, and the great richness of the arch which encloses each bay of triforium and clerestory, give

a very striking and distinct character to the story above the main arcade; and the unusual amount of ornament bestowed on all this division renders the Perpendicular roof, with its intricacy of lines and fret-work, less out of keeping with the work below than would otherwise, perhaps, have been the case. From the extreme west end, the eye ranges through the nave to the closed choir-screen of Bishop Gower. The eastern tower arch breaks the line of roof, and beyond is seen the coloured ceiling of the presbytery, with the east end of the church in the far distance, banded with stone of differing tints and rich with mosaics and stained glass.

With the exception of the westernmost bay, which is narrower than the rest, all the arches of the main arcade are rounded. The piers, somewhat lower than usual, are alternately round and octagonal, with shafts attached to the cardinal points; those toward the aisles, designed as vaulting-shafts, being clustered. "The capitals afford an interesting study; the prevalent type is a degenerate, though by no means uncommon, variety of the cushion form, though some are of other kinds, several being floriated; while two of the shafts attached to the first pair of piers from the east are remarkable for the exquisite grace of their foliage, which approaches much nearer to the classical models than is at all usual in this country. A single capital on the north side retains vestiges of a small figure or statue, which has been broken off."¹

¹ Jones and Freeman, 'History of St. David's,' p. 56.





ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. TRIFORM ARCHES

The bases are decidedly Early English in section. The plinths are rectangular. "The arches are very rich, and elaborately moulded on the face toward the nave The outer order has sectional mouldings, rapidly advancing toward Early English; the inner has surface-mouldings, partaking a good deal of a sectional character, and which, together with those in the clerestory, afford a valuable study of the process by which the projecting tooth-moulding of the Early English style was developed out of the surface-carved chevron of its predecessor."² The pointing of the westernmost pair of arches was necessary in order to keep the narrower bay at the same height as the others.

The portion of the elevation above the main arcade is, as has been already said, treated in a very unusual manner. In each bay, triforium and clerestory are set within one main arch. The upper part of this arch is open, and the clerestory window is seen at the back. The lower part is closed by a wall containing two pointed arches, in the spandril between which is a richly-carved roundel (Plates II. and III.). Two of these bays occupy the space above one bay of the main arcade below. The arches enclosing triforium and clerestory are highly enriched, and clustered shafts with carved capitals (originally designed with reference to an intended vaulting) rise between them about half-way up, and now carry small shafts of wood, on which the

² Jones and Freeman, 'History of St. David's,' p. 57.

Perpendicular roof rests. The whole effect, owing greatly to the multiplication of arches in this division, is very rich and intricate. "The passage itself is merely formed in the thickness of the wall over the pier-range, and only opens by an occasional round arch into what, were the aisles vaulted, would be the space between the double roofs, and which in the ceiled south aisle really is so, but on the north side is necessarily a portion of the aisle itself."^h

The arrangement of triforium and clerestory within a single arch occurs elsewhere, and the Perpendicular version may be studied to advantage in York Minster. But the triforium at York, and in other examples of earlier date, is altogether sacrificed to the clerestory. Here it is at least of equal importance.

V. The beautiful and most unusual *roof* of the nave (Plate IV.) will from the first have attracted attention. It was the intention of the Norman architect that his nave should be vaulted, and for this purpose the shafts already mentioned were designed, alternately single and clustered: "those of the latter form being placed over the piers, as having to support the transverse arches of the vault." But the nave is of great width; and—since the vaulting of such a space was, at that early period, an undertaking of unusual boldness—it is probable that difficulties soon presented themselves, rendering the execution of the design dangerous or impossible. At any rate, it must have been abandoned

^h *Id.* p. 58.



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. ROOF OF NAVE.

after the fall of the tower in 1220, followed as that was in 1248 by the earthquake which shook so severely the walls of the nave.

In what manner the nave was ceiled before the construction of the present roof is unknown. It was possibly covered by a flat ceiling of timber, such as seems to have existed at Llandaff, and such as still remains at Peterborough and St. Alban's. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the earlier roof was plain and simple in comparison of that with which it was replaced toward the end of the fifteenth century. It is asserted, and probably with truth, that this gorgeous ceiling was erected during the treasurership of Owen Pole (1472-1509), and it was perhaps during the same period that the timber roof of the choir was made. The nave roof is, "in its construction, simply a flat ceiling of timber laid upon the walls; but by some certainly unjustifiable violations of the laws of architectural reality, such as are not uncommon even in the stone roofs of that period, it is made to assume a character wholly its own, and which it is very difficult to describe in an intelligible manner. By the employment of vast pendants, which at the sides take the form of immense overlapping capitals to the small shafts already mentioned, the ceiling appears to be supported by a system of segmental arches effecting a threefold longitudinal division of the roof, and crossed by a similar range springing from the walls. Of course, these arches in reality support nothing, but are, in fact, borne up by what appears to rest on

them. Notwithstanding this unreality, and the marked inconsistency of the roof with the architecture below—notwithstanding that its general character would have been much more adapted to some magnificent state apartment in a royal palace—still the richness and singularity of such an interminable series of fretted lines renders this, on the whole, one of the most attractive features of the cathedral. Both the arches themselves, and the straight lines which divide the principal panels, drip with minute foliations like lacc-work, in a style of almost Arabian gorgeousness. It is much to be regretted that this ceiling cuts off the top of the western arch of the lantern, which at once spoils the effect of the latter, and gives an unpleasant appearance to the unfinished pendants of the ceiling, when seen from behind out of the choir. Still, this very view of the roof, in which hardly any other part of the nave is visible, is wonderful in the extreme.”¹

It has been sometimes suggested that this remarkable ceiling may have been brought from elsewhere, and possibly from the great hall of the Bishop's palace. But a careful examination will show that it was certainly constructed for the place which it now fills. It may very probably have been the work of foreign artists; and as some indications of foreign work may be traced in the tomb of Bishop Morgan (see § xvii.),

¹ Jones and Freeman, p. 59. The pendants have now (1872) been completed; so that the “unpleasant appearance” is very much lessened.

who died in 1505, Mr. Freeman is disposed to refer it to the period between the death of that Bishop and 1509, in which year died the Treasurer Pole. Some of the carving of the roof has completely the character of the Renaissance.

VI. The interior of the West Front is now plain and bare; the window, an attempt at Perpendicular, being that introduced by Nash. His also are the circular windows at the western ends of the aisles. The Norman west front had, above the great portal, two tiers of windows: the lower consisting of three equal round-headed lights, the upper of five unequal lancets. Above again was a single lancet in the gable. All these lights seem to have been set in a single rear arch, which was probably retained by Nash, and guided the dimensions and composition of the present window. The appearance of the West Front, before it was touched by Nash, is only known from some indifferent engravings, the best of which is to be found in Grose's '*Antiquities*.'

Notwithstanding the beautiful colour of the stone, the piers of the main arcade were covered with paintings, some faint traces of which still remain. On the south side, the fourth pier from the west has on its eastern face the full-length figure of a king in armour, with a crowned helm, and a sceptre in the left hand. It has been thought to represent Henry IV., and the plate-armour, with knee-caps and elbow-pieces, is of that period. On the west side of the same pier is the Virgin under a canopy, with the inscription "Virgo

Maria." Above is our Lord, with the emblems of the four evangelists; and on the small attached shafts are figures of seven candlesticks, evidently referring to the vision of St. John. There are traces of a crowned figure on the pier eastward of this, and some remains of painting on the pier opposite on the north side of the nave.

The *Font* stands at the western end of the south aisle. It is octagonal, with a rudely-carved arcade of pointed arches. The shaft is not original, and it may be hoped that, before the restoration of the Cathedral is completed, a font more worthy of the church will be placed here.^k

For the *Monuments* in the nave and its aisles, see § XVII.

VII. The walls of the *nave aisles* were raised, Decorated windows were inserted, and preparations were made for vaulting the aisles by Bishop Gower (1328–1347). In the north aisle only one of the original Decorated windows, with intersecting tracery, remains; the others are “debased” of the seventeenth

^k “A stone which formerly stood beside the font is now preserved in the north transept; it forms a plain, irregularly cylindrical shaft, gradually tapering towards the top; the base is oblong, with the angles chamfered off. The summit is hollowed out to form a basin without a water-drain, and much too small for immersion. The height is two feet six inches. . . . Similar objects are found standing near the fonts of some churches in Brittany, and are supposed to be connected with the use of chrism in baptism.”—Freeman and Jones, p. 77. May not this be a “bénitier” for holy water? A low pillar is used for this purpose in some French churches.

century, and will be removed. The windows in the south aisle are, for the most part, modern restorations of Bishop Gower's Decorated.

The roofs of the Norman aisles were of very much steeper pitch than those which now exist, and when the walls were raised by Bishop Gower the Norman vaulting-shafts were used afresh, and were lengthened to the necessary extent. This accounts for the fact that the vaulting-shafts are unquestionably Norman, whilst they are much longer than the original Norman walls would have permitted. The shafts against the aisle walls, and the triple shafts which project from the piers of the great arcades, show that Bishop de Leia had at first designed to cover the aisles with a sexpartite vaulting; but although the vaulting-shafts exist, and at the east end of the north aisle the arch springing from them is traced out, the vault was never completed; and "it seems quite impossible that the system thus suggested could ever have been carried out, as the apex of the arch against the east wall falls very much lower than that of the pier-arch, so that a vault of the strangest and most uncouth kind would have been the result. One can only suppose that, in planning the nave, the effect which the vast width of the pier arches would have upon the vaulting—which, as usual, was left for the last thing—was altogether forgotten."¹

The vaulting system of Bishop Gower was well arranged, and was apparently quite capable of com-

¹ Jones and Freeman, p. 142.

pletion; but this also, like the Norman vaulting, remained unfinished. The skeleton of a flat timber ceiling remained in the south aisle until the present restoration. Oak boarding has now been placed above the moulded ribs. The north aisle will eventually be ceiled in a similar manner.

The vaulting shafts in the north aisle are taller than those in the south. In three bays of the former aisle are slender buttresses of Perpendicular date, abutting against the clerestory wall, and resting on the vaulting shafts, which were shortened to receive them. These buttresses were inserted to counteract the outward leaning of the north wall—a result no doubt of the earthquake of 1248. The great external buttresses (see § XXII.) were afterwards added for the same purpose.

At the east end of each aisle a Transitional doorway instead of the usual arch gives admission to the transept. The portal in the northern aisle is trefoil headed, beneath a circular enclosing arch. One of the capitals of the shafts carrying this arch is unlike any other in the church.

In the second bay from the west, opposite to each other, are the portals by which the Cathedral is now generally entered. That on the north side is Norman, slightly enriched. The south portal is very rich Decorated work, and is approached by a porch of two stories. They are described in §§ XXI. XXII.

VIII. Leaving for the present the closed choir-screen, the work of Bishop Gower (see *post*, § XVI.),

we pass through its portal into the ritual choir, which occupies the space beneath the central tower, and half of the bay beyond it. The presbytery takes the remaining half of this bay, and three bays eastward. All this part of the church, east of the choir screen, is either Peter de Leia's work, or is the work of the re-constructors after the fall of the tower in 1220. It will therefore best be described in immediate connection with the nave. It may here be observed that de Leia's church, there can be no doubt, extended to the existing eastern wall of the presbytery, and was square-ended.

The tower of Bishop de Leia's church fell in 1220.^m There are, as Professor Willis has remarked, few central towers of Norman date which have not fallen, sooner or later. That of Winchester fell in 1107; and that of Ely in 1321. The earlier architects were by no means skilled in the safe construction of huge masses; but no tower, after its fall, was restored so injudiciously as that of St. David's. The western piers, with the arch above them, seem to have suffered little from the fall, and were allowed to remain. The eastern piers, with the three other arches, were rebuilt from the ground. The retention, in such a case, of any part of the old work "is always a dangerous expedient, for not only is it improbable that the remaining por-

^m Anno MCCXX. "Translatio S. Thomæ Martyris Id. Julii. Nova turris Menevensis Ecclesiæ die Lunæ ante Festum S. Martini, nemine mortuo vel læso, statim post vespervas in ruinam improvisam versa est."—*Annales Menevenses*, ap. Wharton, 'Ang. Sac.' ii. p. 650.

tion should be wholly exempt from the defects which caused the destruction of the rest, but a tower resting partly on new and partly on old work can scarcely, in the nature of things, be thoroughly trustworthy."^a In spite of this, however, and notwithstanding the earthquake of 1248, which shook the nave walls, and no doubt affected the lower portion of the tower, a Decorated stage was added during the episcopate of Bishop Gower, and a third, or Perpendicular stage, during the episcopate of Bishop Vaughan. It is only wonderful that the tower, thus piled on insecure foundations, did not again fall. The older piers and arch were indeed constantly crushing and giving way, and they became disunited with the newer parts to a most marked degree. Attempts to strengthen the tower were made by the addition of massive stone-work at the back of the choir screen; and at a later period the western and the southern arches were entirely walled up for increased security. Notwithstanding this, however, when Mr. Scott made his first examination of the tower, in 1862, he found the condition of it "in the highest degree alarming." . . . The older portions (the western piers and arch) were literally, so far as they were open to examination, shattered to fragments. . . . "In fact, the only security which the tower has from actually falling, is the buttressing it sustains from the walls of the transepts and the nave, though the latter have themselves severely suffered under the undue pressure thus brought upon them."

^a G. G. Scott, Report of 1862, p. 11.

The first work of restoration was therefore to ensure the safety of the tower—a matter of the utmost difficulty, since it involved “little less than the rebuilding from their foundation of two of the four piers, each of them bearing a load of 1150 tons, which would have to be supported by timber shoring during the operation.” But the work, under the direction of Mr. Scott, and with the constant personal superintendence of the late Mr. Clear, his clerk of the works, was begun and happily carried through. It was one of the most difficult and delicate operations of its class ever undertaken in this country, and the utmost anxiety was felt by all concerned until the crushed substructure of the tower had been rendered trustworthy. Mr. Scott’s report of the measures which were adopted, too long to be inserted in this place, will be found in the Appendix to Part I.

In its safe and renovated condition, the interior of the tower, with its lofty lantern and Decorated roof, is very striking. Of the four main arches, the western is circular; the other three, constructed after the fall of the tower in 1220, are pointed. “They are, however, of very much the same general Late Norman character, though certain differences may be observed in their capitals and mouldings.” Of the western piers, the parts toward the nave belong to de Leia’s work; those toward the transepts were added after 1220. The eastern and western arches are richly decorated, chiefly on their western sides. But the sculpture throughout, although on some of the capitals

it is more distinctly of Early English character, is far less advanced than its ascertained date would lead us to expect. The destruction of de Leia's tower and choir followed so closely on their completion, that the rebuilders seem either to have made little architectural progress, or to have set themselves purposely to reproduce the earlier forms and decorations.

The pointed arches are higher than the round arch, and the string course above them is consequently carried at a higher level. Above this string course is, on the west side, a wall arcade of pointed arches, four of which once opened, rather more than half their height, into a gallery at the back. The combination of these arches is especially graceful, although the four lower ones are now closed. The slender shafts have capitals of foliage; and that in the centre springs from a corbel representing a fox's head, above the capital of a lower shaft, on which rest two of the lower arches. This work probably belongs to the second period (after 1220), as do certainly the arcades above the main arches on the three remaining sides. These arcades open to a triforium gallery at the back. Their character is Early English, although the capitals are still somewhat Norman. "They are worth notice as presenting a combination of shafts, corbels, and large bowtells furnished with bases like shafts."

At this stage the earlier work ends. (See Plate V. This shows the eastern arch of the tower, and the stage of earlier work on the west and south sides. The Decorated stage above, with the vault, are shown as



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. INTERIOR OF TOWER

they were before the restoration : see *post.*) The stage above is Decorated, and was added by Bishop Gower. This contains on each face a lofty two-light window, having on each side a pointed arch opening to a wall passage. The springers of a stone vault are seen in each angle, level with the base of this Decorated stage ; but the actual roof is a fan vault of wood, raised quite above the Decorated lantern. The ribs of the vault are so arranged as to meet in a large equal-limbed cross in the centre, the beams which form the cross touching the wall on each side. The cross itself is coloured pale blue, with gold and white enrichments. On the oak ground of the vaulting are blazoned shields of arms of the Bishops of the See, from Peter de Leia to Bishop Connop Thirlwall. The ribs of the vaulting are gilt below, and red and black at the sides. The whole colouring (which is entirely modern) is pleasing and harmonious. There were slight traces of a large black and white chequered pattern on the panels, probably the work of the last century, when the stall canopies were painted.

Before the late restoration of the tower, this wooden vault, which, like the roofs of nave and choir, is a work of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, was placed lower down—springing from the earlier stone-work which still remains, and cutting off all the upper portion of the windows of the Decorated lantern. Mr. Scott writes,—“I have done away with this dissight, by lifting the wood groining a stage higher, so as to show Gower’s windows in their in-

tegrity, which forms the lantern into a very fine feature. I trust that as regards the general principle of conservative restoration, this exception will be accepted as one of the class which proves the rule. The wood groining was decorated with colour, and has been repainted.”°

IX. The space beneath the tower, 27 feet square, serves as the “chorus cantorum,” and contains the stalls. A wall, built to strengthen the tower, formerly filled the arch behind the stalls on the south side. This has been removed since the restoration of the tower. The unfinished back of the stall-work is seen in the transept; but this will be properly completed as soon as possible.

The *stalls*, twenty-eight in number, consist of a single range of seats, with misereres. The desks in front rise from a stone plinth, in which are pierced openings for air. The whole is the work of Bishop Tully (1460–1480), and deserves attention, although the Late Perpendicular carving is of no very great excellence. In the tracery, and in the cornice which runs above the canopies, signs of the approaching renaissance are evident. The misereres display the usual grotesques, with a few subjects not perhaps to be found elsewhere. On one is a carpenter building a boat, with a man drinking at his side. On another are three men in a boat, with a fourth rowing. One of the passengers leans over the boat, very sick, whilst another supports his head. Whether any of these

° G. G. Scott, Report of 1869, p. 24.

subjects were intended, as has been suggested, for attacks on the monks, hated as they doubtless were by the seculars, is not certain. One of them may perhaps "bear on the state of popular religion in the fifteenth century. It represents a fox, cowed, and seated on a bench, offering a small round object, representing either a wafer or a paten, to a figure having the body of a goose with a human head, and wearing a cap of rather peculiar form. A flagon stands on the bench behind the fox."^p Over the entrance to the choir is a four-centred arch of oak, having small pendants at the apex, and with its spandril filled with well-cut foliage. The stalls have, unusually, a gallery over them. The western front of this gallery has a projecting bay, supported by this oaken arch.

It should be here mentioned that the Sovereign is entitled to a stall in the choir, together with one of the Prebends, known as the "King's Cursal," or "*Præbenda Regis*." It is not certain when this annexation was made. There is no evidence that it is more ancient than the Reformation; but it may possibly be so, since in some foreign Cathedrals (chiefly in Spain), a "King's Prebend" is also to be found.

The choir is divided from the presbytery by a *parclose* of wood, which crosses the church obliquely, between the eastern tower piers and the first piers of the presbytery. The *parclose* is returned to the tower pier on the north side; on the south the corresponding space is occupied by the Bishop's throne. This

^p Jones and Freeman, p. 86.

screen, marking distinctly the ritual division between the "chorus cantorum" and the presbytery, is, so far as has been ascertained, unique in this country. The division itself exists in all great Churches; but, whatever may formerly have been the case, it would appear that no other screen is now remaining in a similar position. The parclose here is of very late Decorated character. The lower portion is of closed panel-work, trefoil-headed, with a peculiar leafage at the cusps. Above is an open arcade of unusual design; the tracery reticulated, with sex-foiled headings, the lowest foil being slightly elongated.

The wide doorway is not in the centre of the parclose, though it is nearly opposite the entrance to the choir under the rood screen. The return on the north side is plainer, and is probably of somewhat earlier date. The Bishop's throne, on the south, is a complicated structure, light and graceful, with rich canopies. The woodwork, however, is of various dates; the framework apparently Late Perpendicular, some other portions Decorated, and the lower panels, judging from their peculiar cusping, of the same date as the parclose screen. This agrees with the belief that Bishop Morgan (1496-1505) erected the throne, which contains three seats, the two at a lower level being intended for certain officers in attendance. The back part of the throne is rude and unfinished, although it seems, since its erection, to have occupied the same position as at present.

The history of all this woodwork seems to be as

follows:—After the erection of the rood screen by Bishop Gower in the fourteenth century, it was ordered that the Canons' stalls should be reconstructed. To this period accordingly belong the parcloses, and the lower panels of the Bishop's throne. Gower's stalls were removed, and replaced by those which now exist, in the fifteenth century; and later again Bishop Morgan erected the present throne, much Decorated work from Gower's stalls being apparently used up in it. The parclose, judging from the different character of the work in its north return, and from other indications, does not occupy its original position. It is probable that it extended at first between the eastern tower piers, and that when Bishop Morgan erected the throne it was removed a short distance eastward.¹

The stalls were necessarily removed during the restoration of the tower. Together with the parclose, and the Bishop's throne, they have been most carefully and minutely repaired, "the greatest care being taken to preserve the ancient work as nearly untouched as is possible." The floor of the choir has been laid with encaustic tiles, and a greater contrast can hardly be conceived than that between the present appearance of the choir, and its condition—neglected, decaying, and crowded with lofty pews—before the restoration. The view from the entrance of the choir, looking beyond the tower into the presbytery, with its painted roof, and its eastern end enriched with banded stone of various colour, with stained glass, and with mosaics, is

¹ See Jones and Freeman's History, pp. 90-93.

especially striking. The height of the choir above the nave gives a peculiar character to the view westward; and from the parclose, or from the eastern tower piers, the long vista of the beautiful nave roof is well seen. Little more of the nave is indeed visible from this point.

X. The *Presbytery* (Plate VI.), which we enter through the parclose, consists of three bays and a half, including the easternmost bay, in which stands the altar.

The tower, in 1220, fell eastward and ruined the presbytery, and, in some degree, the transepts of de Leia's church. The rebuilders were evidently anxious to introduce as little architectural novelty as possible, and, with the exception of the pointed arches, there is little difference between the general character of the work in the nave and of that in the presbytery. The side walls were at first lower than they now are, and there was a high-pitched roof. At the east end were two ranges of windows,—three lights below and four above. In the fifteenth century the high roof was taken off, the side walls raised about six feet, the gable lowered, and a very flat roof placed on the walls thus altered. At this time also the upper tier of lancets in the eastern wall was removed, and the space they occupied was converted into a single Perpendicular window. Somewhat later, when Bishop Vaughan constructed his chapel (see § XIX.), the lower tier of lancets was entirely closed. The aisles of the presbytery had been much altered by Bishop Gower



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL THE PRESBYTERY

in the fourteenth century. After the lead was stripped from them during the Civil War, they fell into ruin ; and at the Restoration, when the Cathedral was put into some kind of order, the main arcades of the presbytery were walled up, thus cutting off the aisles altogether. Toward the end of the century the roof of the presbytery was propped by large heavy beams.*

This was the condition of the eastern arm of the Church when Mr. Scott undertook the restoration of it. This has been happily accomplished, and the present appearance of the presbytery is more striking, and certainly more beautiful, than it can have been at any time since the first changes were made in the fifteenth century. The walls, pillars, and arches have been put into a state of thorough repair. The aisles have been opened, roofed, and restored. The roof of the presbytery itself has been most carefully repaired, and renewed where necessary ; and, instead of the Perpendicular window, the upper tier of lancet lights has been replaced, sufficient fragments having been found to admit of their reconstruction with certainty. Indeed the greater part of these lancets, on the interior, is composed of the original moulded stones. It was, of course, impossible to re-open the lower tier, since Bishop Vaughan's chapel blocks them at the back, but their stonework has been thoroughly re-

* An engraving in Jones and Freeman's 'History of St. David's' shows the Presbytery as it was before the late restoration.

paired and the spaces of the lights themselves filled with mosaics.

The piers of the presbytery, alternately round and octangular, greatly resemble those in the nave. Tall, clustered shafts, terminating a little under the string above the arcade, are attached to the piers and support smaller Decorated shafts with rich capitals—part, it seems probable, of Bishop Gower's design for vaulting the Cathedral. The pointed arches have mouldings of the same character as those in the nave. The capitals of the piers vary. On the north side they retain for the most part the form which is common in the nave; on the south they display more foliage and varied ornament, and are more decidedly Early English. Above each arch is a pointed clerestory light, set deep in the wall, with rich outer mouldings of that peculiar zigzag from which, to all appearance, was developed the Early English star or dog-tooth. At the angles of the hood-mouldings are small corbels, with heads and leafage. On the north side, between each clerestory light, is a trefoil-headed niche. It is clear that preparations were twice made—by the rebuilders after 1220, and in the Decorated period—for vaulting the choir. This, however, was never accomplished. The design of the rebuilders was evidently suspended during their operations, since the niches were added exactly where the groining arches would have come; and the upper range of east windows was added without any reference to vaulting.

The existing roof of the presbytery was, no doubt, erected during the period (1472-1509) when Owen Pole was treasurer. On it are the arms of Bishop Tully (1461-1481) and of his successor Bishop Martyn (1482-1483), and it would appear that Bishop Tully made an annual payment to the treasurer "*ad usum fabricæ*" during the progress of this and other works connected with it.* The roof itself, but slightly raised, is in panels. Five of the great beams were found (1865) to be hopelessly decayed, and their size was such that it was not easy to obtain trees sufficiently large to replace them. Oaks, from which similar beams could be cut, were at last procured from Radnorshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and the Forest of Dean.

The old roof was richly coloured, but the panels had been repainted in a discordant style in the seventeenth century. The whole colouring has been renewed. The main beams, retaining their old designs, are painted in black, white, and red. The panels, each of which is subdivided into four, have ornaments of various colours on a ground of yellowish white. At the main bosses are blazoned shields and richly-gilt leafage. The shields are those of Bishop Tully; the Earl of Richmond (buried here, see § XVII.); that assigned to Rhodri Mawr, King of Gwynedd, killed A.D. 877; Bishop Martyn; Owen Pole, the treasurer; France and England, quartered; Edward V.; Richard III.; Henry VII.; Rhys ap Tudor; and Bishop

* Jones and Freeman, p. 163.

Young. All these shields occupy their original positions. At the corbels were other shields, the arms on which had been obliterated; they are now blazoned with the arms of the present Bishop, Dean, Canons, and Archdeacons, thus marking the period of the restoration. On the whole, the colouring of this ceiling, rich and varied as it is, is not so satisfactory as that in the tower—partly, perhaps, owing to its being so much lower and so much nearer to the eye.

The *east end* of the presbytery, as it now exists, is a restoration to the form which it presented after the rebuilding of 1220, with the exception that the lower tier of windows is no longer open. When, in the fifteenth century, a Perpendicular window was inserted in the east end, the stonework of the original upper tier of lights was used for heightening the side walls above the clerestory,—an operation which formed part of the plan for remodelling the presbytery. At the same time the present roof was constructed. Mr. Scott, finding that the dead walls above the clerestory “were a perfect mine of the débris of the upper tier of windows,” and that the Perpendicular window, the design of which was far from good, was in a state of great decay, determined to restore the old arrangement. Accordingly, he took down the dead walls, discovering in them “not only evidence sufficient to show the precise design of the ancient eastern lancets, but sufficient to go a considerable way in reconstructing them with their own ancient materials.” Below the cill of the Perpendicular window those of

the original lights were found still *in situ*. The restored east end, therefore, consists of three very fine closed lancets below, and of a range of four pointed lights above.[†]

In the lower range, "Norman and Early English details are more palpably intermingled than in any other portion of the church, there being a profusion of rich Romanesque mouldings, while the shafts, which are banded several times, have both the round and the square abacus."^u The windows are set deeply in the wall; the banded shafts have capitals of leafage. At the angles of the hood mouldings are angels, and beyond again, projecting heads. Small shafts, resting on brackets, like those on the interior of the western tower arch, fill the angles of the wall north and south. At the base of the windows runs a very rich band, having an embattled moulding above a series of interlacing arches.

The upper range of lights, "reproduced from their original materials, after being for four centuries immured," forms internally a continuous arcade, supported on clusters of light shafts, some of the capitals

[†] The blank wall above the clerestory was rebuilt by Mr. Scott, after it had been worked as a mine of *débris*. Although without character, its rebuilding was necessary, in order to support the existing roof, for the sake of which the walls had at first been raised. During the restoration of this roof, portions of that which had preceded it were found among the timbers, "showing that it was perfectly plain, though massive, and of the cradled form, so usual at early periods."—Second Report (1869) by G. G. Scott, p. 17.

^u Jones and Freeman, p. 68.

of which are foliated. The wall passage runs between this arcade and the windows, which are somewhat narrow. In the window mouldings and in the main eastern wall there is an arrangement of variously-coloured stones, which gives great additional richness to the general effect. In the mouldings of the lower lancets, the purple local stone alternates with oolite. The inner mouldings of the upper lights are white oolite, and plain bands of the same are carried across the wall.

The wall at the back of the altar, below the great triplet, is of rubble; and in the centre, set back within a small square opening, is a circlet, containing a cross with equal arms, the intervals between which open to the chapel at the back. This cross will be best explained, so far as that is possible, in describing the chapel (see § XIX.). It was discovered during Mr. Scott's restoration.

The cross is, to all appearance, of the same date as the Norman work of the nave, and should be compared with the circlets in the spandrels of the nave triforium arches. It appears that the rubble wall in which it is set was part of de Leia's work. The tower fell eastward, destroying the portions of the church immediately adjoining it, and greatly damaging the eastern wall. But the lower part of the east end—possibly including the lower tier of lights—was uninjured and is therefore of the original date, together with the eastward portions of the side walls. The western bays of the sides and the upper tier of eastern

lights are certainly of the later date. "This is made very manifest on the south side of the clerestory by a triforium passage, originally communicating with that in the south transept, but which was omitted in the reconstructed parts, thus cutting off the communication." *

XI. The glass in the upper tier of eastern lights, and the mosaics which fill the closed windows below, are gifts to the Cathedral from the Reverend John Lucy, rector of Hampton Lucy, in Warwickshire, and are partly memorials of his ancestor, William Lucy, Bishop of St. David's from 1660 to 1677. The *glass*, by Hardman, represents the Nativity, the Transfiguration, the Agony in the Garden, and the Last Supper. The *mosaics* were worked by Salviati in the famous manufactory at Murano, from cartoons by Mr. Powell, of Messrs. Hardman's establishment at Birmingham.^y The subjects are—in the central window, the Crucifixion, with figures of the Virgin and St. John; the

* G. G. Scott, 'Report of 1862,' p. 18.

^y The revival of the glass and mosaic manufacture at Murano is of recent date. Some time after 1840 Dr. Salviati became its principal patron, and proprietor of the chief establishment. His most important works in England are the mosaics in the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor, others in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in Westminster Abbey, and some at South Kensington. The coloured cartoons for the St. David's windows were of the full size of each space; and each block of mosaic was clearly marked out. They were sent to Venice; and the work, when completed, arrived in England ready for fixing in the window spaces. This is done with a special cement, said to be identical with that used by ancient mosaicists for the same purpose.

Magdalene kneels at the foot of the cross. In the side windows are full-length figures of "Ecclesia" and "Synagoga," the Christian Church and the Jewish. In a predella below the central mosaic is a representation of the brazen serpent, with figures of Moses and Aaron. Below the others are—St. David distributing alms to the poor, and St. David addressing the Synod of Llandewi Brefi. Each of the larger subjects has a rich architectural canopy; and a broad border, of very beautiful design, surrounds the whole.

The central mosaic has, to some extent, a Byzantine character. The figure of the Saviour on the cross is surrounded by a vesica-shaped wreath of clouds, conventionally formed. On His head is a golden and jewelled crown, from which three rays extend to the outer edge of an enriched aureole. The blood flowing from His hands and feet is received in chalices. The cross is coloured green (as though to represent the Tree of Life), and is set with jewels. St. John holds the book of his Gospel, and extends one hand toward the Saviour. The Virgin stands with hands clasped. The robe of the kneeling Magdalene is powdered with Ms—an unusual distinction—but the robe-colouring generally assigned to her, to the Virgin, and St. John, has not here been adopted. They are in white, with gilt and coloured borders; all have coloured and jewelled aureoles. Above the cross, on either side, are angels, veiling the sun and the moon. The whole subject is thrown out from a golden ground, as in the other mosaics.

The figures of the Christian and the Jewish

Churches, in the side windows, are such as frequently occur throughout the mediæval period, in both stained glass and sculpture. "Ecclesia" stands erect, crowned, bearing a cross and a chalice. "Synagoga" is blindfold, the crown is falling from her head, and the staff on which she leans is breaking to pieces. "Ecclesia" is robed in ecclesiastical vestments, white, with golden and jewelled borders, and her aureole is deep blue. Above her head is an angel bearing a scroll. "Synagoga" has the rich robes, bordered with bells and pomegranates, of the Jewish high-priest, and on her breast is the "breastplate of cunning work," with the twelve precious stones.

Immediately under the Crucifixion are the words, "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi;" and below again, within an arcade of three arches are the brazen serpent, Moses, and Aaron—one bearing his rod, the other his "rod that budded." The arcade is much enriched with coloured borders and architectural ornament. Under the figure of Ecclesia is St. David bestowing alms. He wears a grey monastic robe. Under Synagoga, he is addressing the Bishops at Breff (see Part II.). He stands in the centre, while the Bishops, wearing their mitres, are seated round, with a white robed Abbot in the foreground.

All the mosaics have, as has been said, a golden ground, which, in parts lies in broad masses, and throws into strong relief the white robes and pale flesh-tinting of the principal figures. The borders and other ornaments, all of which are of great beauty and

deserve careful attention, are rich and varied in colour ; and considering that the east end of the presbytery is by no means strongly lighted, it was unquestionably desirable that the mosaics themselves should be as clear and as distinct as possible. It has been objected to the design of the principal figures that they combine a certain antique stiffness and slenderness of drawing, with a modern character and expression in the heads and faces. How far this is really an error, each observer may determine for himself. The heads are at any rate striking, full of beauty and of feeling ; and since the mosaics are intended to instruct and influence those who look on them, no less than to ornament the church in which they are placed, it may well be doubted whether the artist would have been wise to have sacrificed the expression he has certainly conveyed, to a more strict imitation of his ancient examples. The effect of the mosaics, with the shimmer of their gold, and their pale solemn figures lighting up the dark wall of the sanctuary, is unusually fine. They harmonize in a wonderful manner with the deep hues of the surrounding stonework. Perhaps no more worthy decoration has been placed in any of those English Cathedrals which of late years have been so nobly adorned ; and it is fitting that the " old coat " of the Lucys should find its place in the pavement of the presbytery, and in the stained glass above—a memorial, as well of the former Bishop as of the giver of these rich and costly decorations.

On a brass, beneath the central window, is the in-

scription—"In honorem Dei, et in memoriam Gulielmi Lucy, S. T. P., hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis regnante Carolo secundo, præclari episcopi; has picturas murales et fenestras superne, pietate adductus, dat dedicat Johannes Lucy per multos annos Hamptoni Lucy Rector. A.D. 1871."

XII. There is a gradual rise of four paces from the choir to the eastern bay, where stands the altar. The first of these paces is at the east end of the second bay from the west; the second is in the middle of the next bay, at the end of which is the third; and the altar itself stands on the fourth. The presbytery is paved throughout with encaustic tiles, a large portion of which are ancient, and exceedingly good. The rest have been copied from them, except one, which gives the "three white lucces," the "old coat" of the Lucys of Warwickshire, one of whose descendants has been so liberal a contributor to the restoration. On the south side of the lowest pace, close under the wooden sedilia, are some curious small ancient bordering tiles. These are of the fifteenth century, and date from the time when the presbytery was remodelled. In the centre of the second pace from the west, in a narrow stone forming the edge of the step, is a squared hole for receiving the stem of a lectern from which the Gospel was read.

The altar is a long and fine slab of grey sandstone, raised on an oaken frame. All this is entirely new. It does not touch the eastern wall; and behind it, in the floor, have been placed some altar slabs.

marked by crosses, and found used as paving in front of the low wall in the arch on the south side of the presbytery. One of these, at the south end, is remarkably small, $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 9 inches. It is marked by the usual five crosses, and had been let into a large slab of stone of a different kind. It is itself of the hardest local stone, and judging from the careful manner in which it had been preserved, it seems to have been regarded as a relic of especial value and importance.^z

^z It is to be regretted that this small altar-slab was removed from the larger stone in which it was set. There are two of these larger stones—one in which the small altar was set, and another exactly fitting to it. The length of each of the large stones is 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The width is 2 feet 3 inches, but a slip $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide has been cut away from that in which the small altar was inserted. The large stones are 8 inches thick; the inserted slab 2 inches. The former have been put together and will be preserved. The inserted slab was perhaps an "altare portabile,"—that is, an altar-slab consecrated by the Bishop at a distance, and inserted in an unconsecrated stone (such portable altars were used on journeys; and the legend of St. David mentions one among the gifts bestowed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem on the saint and his companions); or it may have been the "seal" or slab covering a sepulchrum or cavity in the altar, made to receive relics, or the consecrated host. An inlaid slab, resembling this at St. David's, has been found during the restoration of the Jesus Chapel in Norwich Cathedral. The small slab of Purbeck marble, marked with five crosses, measures $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is inserted in a stone from Clipsham in Rutland, 5 feet 9 inches long, 5 feet 3 inches broad, and 7 inches thick. The "seal" in this case has been raised, but no relics were found. The stone now serves as the altar of the Jesus Chapel. The covering of the sepulchre in an altar is called the "sigillum" by Durandus ('Rationale,' i. 6, 34). See, for a further account of the Norwich slab, 'Notes and Queries,' April, June, Sept., 1871. It appears that these are the only examples of a sealed altar remaining in

The main arcades had been walled up after the aisle roofs fell. In opening that on the south side, part of a low stone wall (of the Transitional period) was found in the first bay. This wall, separating the presbytery from the aisle, has been restored, and on its top is fixed the basin of a piscina, dug up in the churchyard, and supposed by Mr. Scott to have been removed from this place. In the next bay were found the ancient sedilia. These are of wood, and of the fifteenth century. They have been carefully restored. There are three seats, raised on two steps running the whole length of the bay. The backs of the seats are of open screen-work.

The various monuments in the presbytery, including the remaining portion of St. David's shrine, are described in § xvi.

XIII. The *aisles of the presbytery* have undergone various changes, the traces of which are still evident. They were reconstructed after the fall of the tower. In the Early English period, the south wall of the south aisle was taken down and set farther back. Bishop Gower (1328-1347) removed the old roofs, raised the walls of the aisles, and inserted Decorated windows. The aisles became ruined in the seventeenth century, and have now been restored and roofed anew by Mr. G. G. Scott.

The aisles are approached from the transepts through massive pointed arches, which are apparently this country,—if the St. David's slab be a "scal," and not an "altare portabile."

of the second period, and built therefore after the fall of the tower. The capitals of the pier shafts resemble those of the shafts in the presbytery; but, as in that case, there has been so little departure from the mouldings and ornaments of de Leia's work, that it is not easy to determine with certainty the period to which they belong. The piers of the presbytery, where they face the aisles, are constructed in a remarkable manner. A group of small shafts is attached to each pier, the capitals of which terminate in brackets below the capitals of the piers themselves. It is difficult to understand for what purpose such an arrangement can have been made, unless the brackets were intended to support figures.

The evidence that the south aisle was widened in the Early English period is sufficiently distinct. In the second bay from the east, the base of the earlier vaulting shaft remains, projecting inward, below the later base, and westward of this the bases do not descend to the level, but are raised on square blocks. That the aisle was widened in the Early English period, and not later, when the walls were raised, is clear, "both because the east wall to the south of the arch leading into the chapel aisle is of a piece with the jamb of that arch, and also because the Decorated string cuts through the canopy of a Decorated tomb, which must therefore have been inserted in the Early English wall before the general Decorated repair."^a

^a Jones and Freeman, p. 155.

The eastern walls of the presbytery aisles were pierced with arches in the Early English period, when the chapels beyond them were commenced (see § XVIII.). It has been suggested that the walls themselves belong to de Leia's church, which certainly did not extend farther to the east. In both walls the steep ancient roof line is visible, and that roof seems to have been unchanged until the fourteenth century, when the walls were raised by Bishop Gower. In the east wall of the north aisle, below this roof line, is a round arch with a moulded rib, patched apparently during the Transitional rebuilding with a moulding of different section, and resting on a capital of much later date. Below this arch is that of a round-headed window; and below again, cutting through the window, is the Early English arch of entrance to the eastern chapel, with shafts and foliated capitals. In the south-east angle of the wall is a door leading to the arcaded passage in the eastern window of the presbytery. All this change is difficult to unravel, and not the less so because earlier work seems to have been used up in the successive alterations; but it is quite possible that the uppermost round arch may be part of de Leia's work, retained in course of the rebuilding. In the south aisle the Early English arch is alone visible, having within it a small pointed arch, which must have been inserted when the main arch was built up.

Bishop Gower, as has been said, raised the aisle walls and inserted Decorated windows. These were

found by Mr. Scott in a most ruined condition. On the north side there were evidences of the old form of the tracery which was followed in the restoration. The windows "in the south aisle had no remains of the tracery left, and even the jambs were so shattered that it was only by a fragment here and there that the mouldings were recovered. These were found to be curiously varied; out of four windows two only being alike. The tracery introduced has been founded on fragmentary evidences from other parts of the church of the same date."^b The aisles had been twice prepared for vaulting, in the Transitional period and by Bishop Gower. The vaulting shafts of the first time, and (in the south aisle) the springers of the second, remain; but the stone vault was never completed; and the aisles have now been covered with handsome oak roofs of Decorated character, and displaying some good carving. As in the nave, the earlier vaulting shafts were used up and lengthened in Bishop Gower's alterations.

In the north aisle there are only two windows, the westernmost bay being closed by the approach to St. Thomas's Chapel.^c In the south aisle remains of windows were found in all four bays, though the

^b G. G. Scott; Report of, 1869, p. 21.

^c In the second bay from the west, in the north aisle of the presbytery, were found indications of the original round-headed window. The dressings had been removed, but the rougher walling which abutted upon and surrounded the window, in part remained. Although walled up, the window may still be traced.

westernmost was interfered with by the aisle or vestry mentioned in § II. The south transept had at first a single chapel, of Bishop Gower's period, having a space between it and the aisle of the presbytery (see *post*, § XIV.). This space was afterwards built over, forming the transept aisle. The older form has been restored by Mr. Scott.

The low wooden gallery at the west end of the north aisle opens to a staircase leading to the ancient Chapter-house (see § XV.). This staircase had long been disused, and the woodwork in the aisle is modern.

For the monuments in the aisles of the presbytery see *post*, § XVII.

XIV. Of the *transepts*, the western walls appear to be of de Leia's time; the rest is of the second period, after 1220. They have been much altered at various periods, though the changes are more evident on the exterior than within. Large Perpendicular windows were inserted in the north and south walls. That south was much earlier than the one in the opposite transept; but at a later period it was blocked, and four Perpendicular windows, in two stages, were inserted. The window in the north transept, which was late and bad, was replaced in 1846 by a large Decorated window (by Butterfield), copied for the most part from one at Sleaford in Lincolnshire.

The south transept was converted in 1843 into a parish church, and still remains fitted accordingly. The north transept is now (1871) in course of restoration, and is to be covered with an oak vaulting. The

cost of the work in this part of the church will be borne by the Rev. James Allen, Chancellor of the diocese. The western wall of this transept has been much crushed by the pressure of the tower. It contains two of the original round-headed windows, now walled up, one of them being tolerably perfect. These will shortly (1872) be opened. There is also a Transitional doorway. In the west wall of the south transept also there are remains of the original windows, and of a doorway.

At the eastern sides of each transept are three pointed arches (including those which open to the presbytery aisles, and which are somewhat lower than the others). In the original design the arches beyond those of the aisles served as recesses for altars, with the exception of the northernmost arch in the north transept, through which was the entrance to St. Thomas's Chapel. (The north transept was dedicated to St. Andrew, whose altar stood in the central arch.) This chapel (see § I.) formed part of the plan for rebuilding the transept after its ruin by the fall of the tower in 1220. In the south transept a chapel, forming a sort of eastern aisle, was added by Bishop Gower in the fourteenth century. As has already been said (*ante*, § xiii.), this chapel was not joined to the wall of the presbytery aisle, but a junction was effected, late apparently in the sixteenth century, and the chapel was converted into a vestry. Later again it became the eastern aisle of the parish church. Mr. Scott has restored it to its original proportions. The old base

moulds concealed by the extension of the Chapel into an aisle still remain. The south transept was known as the "Chanter's Chapel." It contained an altar dedicated to the Holy Innocents, and probably one to St. David.

The eastern arches of the transepts, and the decorative shafts and arches in the wall above them deserve attention, from the peculiar development of Early English forms which they exhibit. The arches are throughout pointed, and are comparatively plain, since they are without the enriched mouldings of the nave and choir. "The responds adjoining the lantern piers present a remarkable feature, namely, a detached column, of dimensions very unusual for such a position, and rather resembling in size and proportion those which often serve as piers in small Norman churches. They rise, moreover, in a singular manner, out of masses of masonry, like the set-offs of a buttress."^a In the shafts, the neck-moulding is entirely absent, and as at Llandaff, the keel-moulding frequently occurs. In these points, and in a very distinctive character of foliage, the Transitional architecture of St. David's (and especially that of the transepts) resembles that of Wells Cathedral, and of some parts of Somersetshire. This resemblance, as occurring at so early a period, was first pointed out by Mr. Freeman; and Mr. G. G. Scott has also remarked the similarity of the decorative foliage in the South Welsh Cathedrals, and some of the

^a Jones and Freeman, p. 65.

greater Churches in Somersetshire.^o It would seem, therefore, that "the influence of Bristol and Somersetshire models, which has been so often pointed out as having so great an effect upon the architecture of South Wales during the Perpendicular age, had commenced even at this early period."

For the monuments in the transepts see § xvi.

XV. It has already been said that when the north transept was rebuilt after 1220, a chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, was added on the east side. The year 1220, in which the tower fell, was also that in which the body of the martyred Archbishop was translated from its resting-place in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral to the choir above; and St. David's, anxious, like many others of the greater churches, to pay due honour to the new saint, seized the opportunity for constructing a chapel to be dedicated in his name.

This chapel remained, to all appearance, unaltered until the year 1329, when Sir Richard Symonds granted his manor of St. Dogmell to find two chap-

^o Freeman's 'Arch. of Llandaff,' p. 28; Jones and Freeman's 'St. David's,' p. 64. To the latter reference is appended the following extract of a letter from Mr. G. G. Scott:—"I think I mentioned to you that I had noticed a very curious similarity in the character of the Early English foliage at Chepstow Castle, which borders on Decorated, and Llandaff, which is earlyish Lancet. At St. David's I find the *very* same peculiarities in *semi-Norman* work. I have seen them only in two other places, Glastonbury and Wells." The very peculiar Early English of Wells is no doubt due to the development of a local style.



lains who should say mass daily for his own soul and that of his wife at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr. In connection, probably, with this grant the building was entirely remodelled. It received a Decorated stone vault, and two stages were added above it, the lower serving as the Chapter-house, the upper as the Treasury. The whole of this mass of building has been modernized, and the windows have either been blocked or destroyed, "though happily," says Mr. Scott, "there remains a clue to their restoration." "They were," he adds, "charmingly designed," and seem to have been of a form intermediate between Geometrical and Flowing. All this part of the church will shortly, it may be hoped, be placed in thorough repair. It is now (1871) hardly safe.

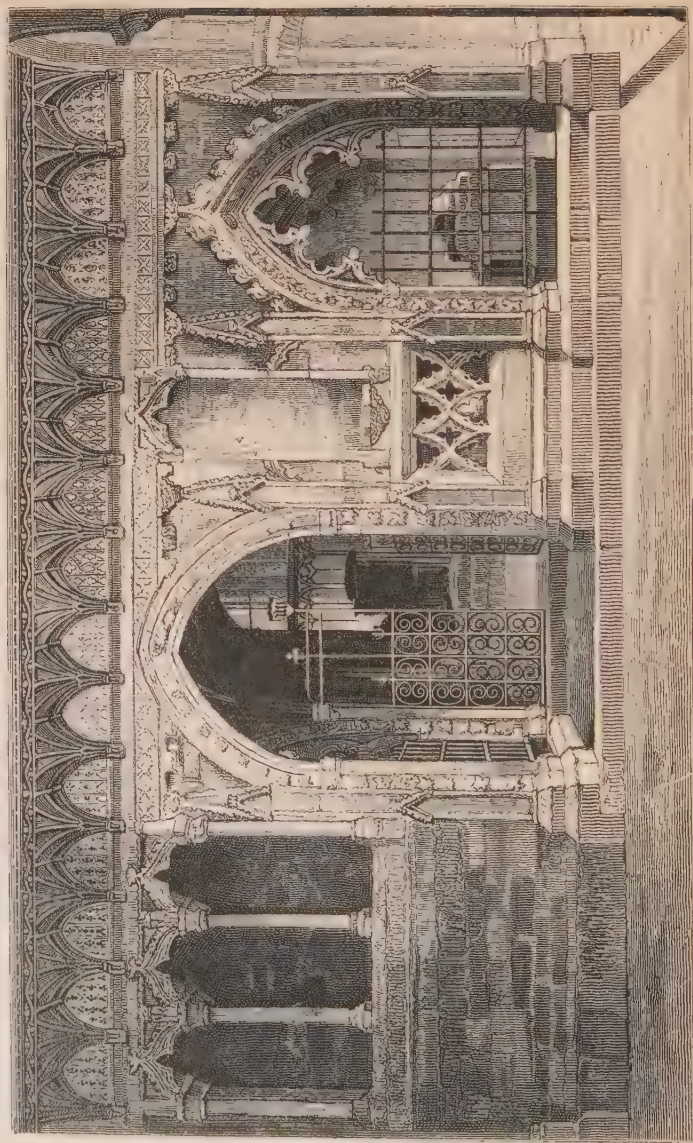
The Chapel of St. Thomas, although it projects considerably eastward of the transept, was not united with the wall of the presbytery aisle, but stands off from it at a considerable angle. The reason is not evident, since the space between the walls of the two buildings is little more than a narrow slype, and the Chapel is not, like the Lady-chapel at Ely, attached merely to the angle of the transept. The external appearance of the whole mass of building overtopping the transept is very remarkable (see § XXII.). St. Thomas's Chapel itself, which has long served as Chapter-house, Library, and Vestry, retains on the south side a very beautiful piscina of purely Early English character, but, no doubt, part of the original work (Plate VII.). It consists of two pointed arches, with trefoiled heads,

contained within a squared heading, and resting on shafts of which that in the centre has a foliated capital. The spandrels between the arches are sculptured with very rich foliage, and in one is a combat between a man and a monster who is in the act of devouring another man. The work is Early English, without a tinge of Norman, and proves that the rebuilders of 1220 only used Transitional details in other parts of the church from a desire to assimilate their work with that of de Leia.

The Decorated vault of this Chapel is (except that of the South Porch) the only one in the church which can ever have been completed. It rises from octagonal shafts, with enriched capitals. The bosses are carved. On one keystone is the head of our Lord, and on another our Lord surrounded by censing angels.

The upper story, which was the original Chapter-house, and was, until lately, used as the Grammar-school, has a Decorated fire-place in the west wall, and on either side a bracket, which seems to be Early English. Such a position for a Chapter-house is at least most rare. The present ceiling is modern, and cuts into the window of the third stage, which lighted the treasury. In connection with the Chapter-house is an ancient garde-robe.

It is quite uncertain whether the original Chapel of St. Thomas supported any upper story. At any rate, the walls, as they now exist, must date from the fourteenth century, when the whole of this mass of building was reconstructed, and the upper portions



were then possibly added. The ancient approach to the Chapter-house was by a staircase opening from the north aisle of the presbytery. This was for a time blocked; and the old Chapter-house, used as the Grammar-school, was reached by an exterior stair at the south-east angle of St. Thomas's Chapel. This has been removed, the ancient staircase restored, and the entrance from the aisle re-opened.

XVI. We come, at last, to the massive and elaborate *rood screen* (Plate VIII.), separating the nave from the choir. This, as has been said, is, as it now appears, the work of Bishop Gower (1323-1347), who seems to have wrought into it portions of a somewhat earlier structure. The rood screen may be regarded as completing the series of Decorated renovations which Bishop Gower carried throughout the Cathedral. One of its recesses was arranged for his own tomb, in which he was accordingly buried.

The rood screen projects into the nave for about half a bay in a very unusual manner. It stands on a platform filling the remainder of the bay, and reached from the nave by an ascent of three steps; this is generally known as the *dais*.^f A vaulted entrance, of two bays, leads through the centre of the screen into the choir. On the south side of the western bay (which alone projects into the nave) are two compartments containing tombs. On the north is a compartment with a tomb, and beyond again a turret staircase leading to the actual rood-loft. The back

^f Or, as it is here called, the "dice."

of the screen, between the two western piers of the tower, was, until recently, formed by a wall of apparently solid masonry, pierced in the centre by a rude arch. This arch now forms the inner bay of the entrance. It had always been considered that this massive wall was part of Gower's work, and that it had been designed for the purpose of strengthening the tower piers; but during Mr. Scott's operations it became necessary to remove the ends of the rood screen, and it was then discovered that the back of the screen had at first been hollow, with an open space between the lower portion of the tower piers and the inner bay of the entrance leading to the choir. The wall, therefore, after the tower had been placed in a state of safety, was removed altogether; and on searching its contents the remains were found of the original inner bay of the entrance and of side doorways opening into the hollow spaces. The first design was accordingly restored, the recovered portions being used so far as they would go. Instead of a "rough and uncouth archway," the inner bay of entrance is now a richly groined space, resembling, though with varied details, the bay opening to the dais.⁵

The time when the hollow spaces were filled up and the great wall constructed is tolerably certain. The 'Computus' of the year 1492 contains an entry which records the payment of 100 shillings for mate-

⁵ "This beautiful addition to the entrance of the choir was wholly beyond anything I had anticipated."—*Second Report*, 1869, of G. G. Scott, p. 24.

rials for a wall which appears to be this one.^h There can be no doubt, at any rate, that the insecurity of the western tower arch rendered necessary this massive backing of the rood screen.

There is considerable want of uniformity in the western face of the screen. The central and two southern compartments agree closely, and seem to be of one period. The northern side differs, but the difference in time cannot be great. It seems probable that the whole is Gower's work, that some change of plan occurred during the building, and that in the northern side of the screen, which is the earlier, some portions of a former structure were built up.

The arch of entrance is enriched with the four-leaved flower, and the jamb with a vine-leaf moulding, both strongly characteristic of Gower's Decorated. In this first bay are two steps; in the second are five; thus altogether raising the choir to a considerable height above the nave. On either side of the first bay an iron grille separates the entrance from the side compartments. In the second bay, an arch opens on either side into the hollow space recently cleared, within which are seen the bases and piers of the great western tower arch. On the west side of each of these spaces is a square recess or aumbrie. The floor of the entrance is tiled, and between the bays are light iron gates, placed here in 1817. On the south side of the screen the first compartment has (toward the nave) a square-headed opening, filled with ogee tracery, and having

^h Jones and Freeman, p. 83.

above it a tall shallow niche with a bracket : the bay south of this has a fine open foliated arch, with heads at the points of foliation. The bays are divided from east to west by a "fenestriform aperture of three lights, with convergent tracery in the head." Above this part of the screen is an enriched cornice.

On the north side, the first bay, in which is a tomb, is not open at the west, like those opposite. This north front consists, below, of a blind wall, above which is an arcade of three arches, carried on detached shafts, which rest on a corbel table, with heads in mail-armour of the thirteenth century. The shaft-capitals, especially those at the ends, which form grotesque heads, are singular, and should be noticed. Above the arcade is a cornice resembling that on the south side of the screen. It is probable that an altar stood in front of this division, but the whole work has certainly been much changed, and the arcade carried by the detached shafts is modern. Unless the corbel heads are, like the Transitional work of the presbytery, reflections of earlier designs, it would seem that Bishop Gower must have here used up portions of an older screen. At an angle with the front of the screen is a doorway, having a semi-octagonal head, cinque-foiled. This is, no doubt, Gower's work. It opens to the stair leading to the rood-loft. From this stair the opening lately cleared at the back of the screen is well seen, and the capitals of the western tower piers may be examined close at hand. The north-west angle of the screen is

flanked by double buttresses—one solid, the other of open work.

Along the whole length of the screen runs a projecting cornice of oak; this was added in 1847, but has received some alteration during the present (1871) restoration. A part of it is ancient, “and consists of a series of small arches filled with Late Perpendicular tracery, and having between them the springers of vaulting either cut away or never finished.” This groining has now been completed, and finished on the top with a cornice of carved oak. The work, however, was not originally intended for the rood-loft, and it seems to have formed some part of stall canopies removed here, most likely, after the old rood-loft was taken down in 1571. The whole now forms a projecting canopy to the stone screen.

The screen of de Leia’s Cathedral extended between the tower piers, and did not project into the nave. In the nave, the bases of the eastern responds are elevated above those of the nave piers, showing the position of the earlier screen and indicating that there was a platform before it.

For the tombs and monuments in the screen compartments, see the following section, (§ XVII.).

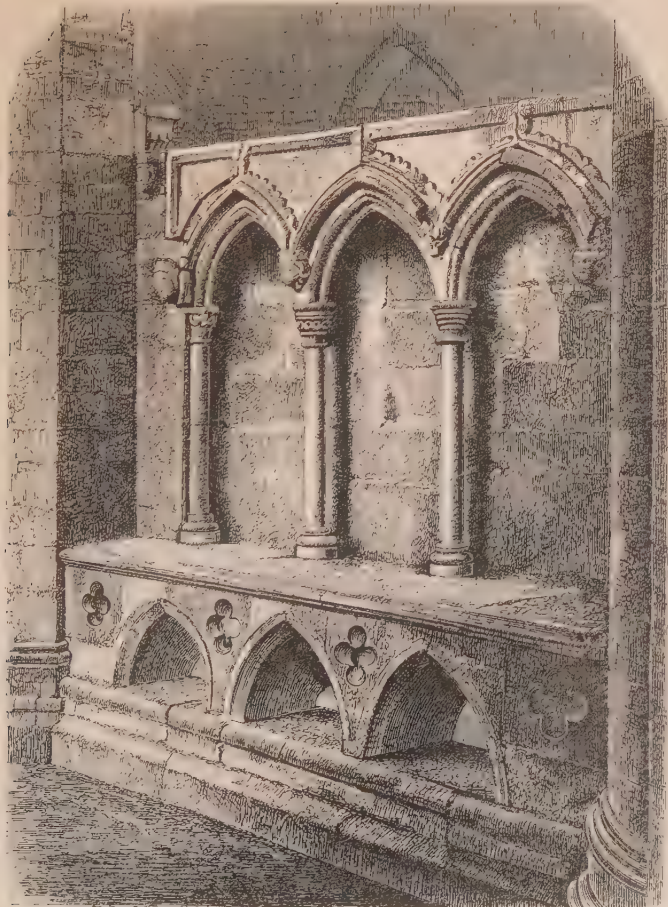
XVII. Beginning with the presbytery, and proceeding through the aisles, the transepts, and the nave, the principal monuments in the Cathedral are as follows.

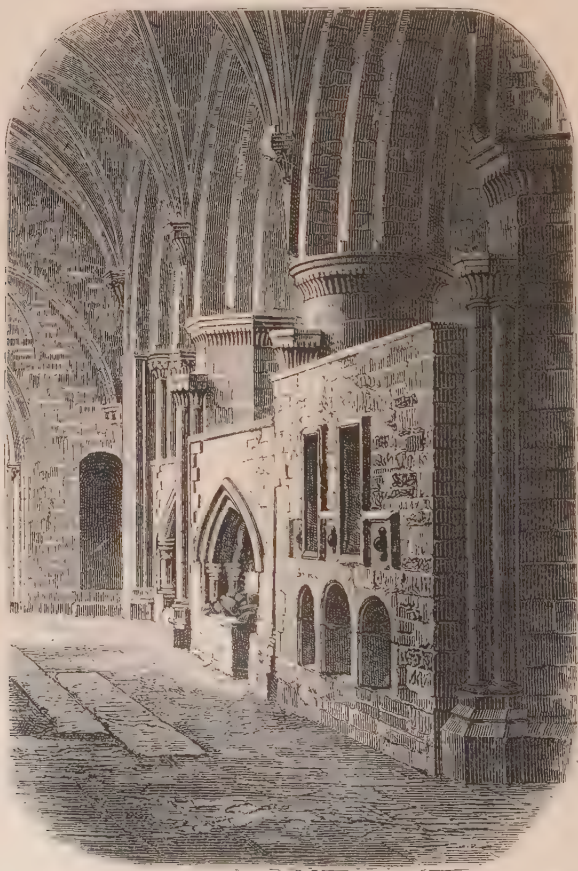
The most important and interesting memorial in the *presbytery* is, of course, the remaining portion of the *Shrine of St. David*. This is only the base which

supported the moveable shrine or feretrum; but it is one of the very few fragments of ancient shrines which remain in this country, and is a relic of considerable interest and importance. It occupies the third bay from the east on the north side of the presbytery,—an unusual position for a great shrine, which (like that of the Confessor at Westminster, and of St. Thomas at Canterbury) was generally placed at the back of the high altar, with a sufficient space round it to admit of the circulation of pilgrims. But in this respect, as in some others, the Welsh Church seems to have retained an ancient usage. The tombs in which St. Teilo and St. Dubricius rested in Llandaff Cathedral, and which were regarded in the light of shrines, were placed, like this shrine of St. David, under the arches of the presbytery, on either side of the high altar.¹

The base of the shrine, as it now exists, has certainly been altered at different periods; but we are told that in 1275 the construction of a new shrine was begun by Bishop Richard de Carew, and the greater part of the existing structure may very well be of that date. The base of this structure extends from pier to pier (Plate IX.). On it are three low pointed arches (about 1 foot in height), with deep quatrefoils in the spandrels. The arches open to recesses about 1 foot deep, backed with stone. The outer quatrefoils are now closed with stone; the inner have small openings wide

¹ The shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorne, in Galloway, occupies precisely the same position. There, too, an ancient British custom may have been retained.





ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. ST. DAVID'S SHRINE.
BACK VIEW

enough to admit a hand, and communicate with small lockers at the back, which served, no doubt, as receptacles for offerings. On the arches rests the flat top of the base, now formed of many stones, with a narrow moulding round the edge; this is backed by a triplet of arches, with a solid wall behind them. The shafts of these arches are modern; the capitals are of Early English character, as are the heads at the angles,—those of a priest, and of a youthful personage wearing a coronet. Above the arches is a crocketed hood-moulding, and a square label running from pier to pier. These are Perpendicular additions. The triplet of arches formerly contained wall-paintings: in the centre was St. David, on his right-hand St. Patrick, on his left St. Denis. These were remaining in the time of Elizabeth, but all traces of them have now disappeared.* The whole structure was surmounted by a wooden canopy, “a fair arch of timber-work painted,” the marks of which may be seen in the capitals of the piers.

The back of the shrine seems to be imperfect (Plate X.). It projects slightly into the aisle, and is now a flat wall, the foot of which ranges with the bases of the clustered shafts set against the piers. At the base are three round-headed arches, that in the centre being larger than the others. Above are three quatrefoils, now closed, but once, perhaps, opening to lockers; and between them rise three plain squared niches, now quite closed. It is said that there were, very recently, stones remaining in the pavement on this side of the

* Browne Willis is the authority for these statements.

shrine which had been indented by the knees of the long succession of pilgrims.

The top of the base, which supported the actual shrine, is at present 3 feet from the ground. It is difficult to believe that it is the original. It is formed of many stones, and, although the moulding is carried quite round, one of the stones has certainly been moved inward. It is probable that the structure has suffered in the various changes of the church, and especially from the walling up of the presbytery arcade after the ruin of the aisle roofs.

St. David, like others of the Welsh saints, was buried in his own church; and, in the same tomb according to his legend, was interred St. Justinian, his contemporary and confessor (see Part II.). At what time the relics of the great patron of Wales were first translated and placed in a portable shrine is unknown; but such a shrine certainly existed in the year 1086, when it was stolen from the church, carried out of the "dinas," or city, and plundered of its treasures.¹ A new shrine was made, as we have seen, by Bishop de Carew in 1275. With this feretrum, or portable shrine, containing the relics, the burgesses of St. David's were bound to follow the Bishop, in time of war, for one day's journey in either direction.^m It was, per-

¹ A.D. 1086. "Serinium sancti David de ecclesia sua furatur, et juxta civitatem ex toto spoliatur." (*Ann. Menev.* ap. Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* ii. 649.) The relics were either recovered, or were not carried from the church by the thieves.

^m "Item dicunt juratores . . . quod tempore guerræ sequi debent Dñm Epñm cum Feretro B. David, et cum reliquiis ex

haps, of no great dimensions, but it must have been, like other shrines, richly gilt, jewelled, and enamelled; and it is somewhat remarkable that we have no account whatever of its removal in the sixteenth century, or of its subsequent fate. Some light may, perhaps, be thrown on the fate of the relics themselves by a discovery made during the present restoration at the back of the high altar (see *post*, § XVIII.). The shrine was sought in pilgrimage not only by all true Welshmen, but by persons from all parts of Great Britain and of Ireland, and it may well have formed a certain bond of connection between the conquerors and the conquered of Wales, — Englishmen and Welshmen. Judging from the number of Edwardian coins found in and about St. David's, it seems that the period during which the shrine attained its greatest celebrity and attracted the greatest number of pilgrims was the fourteenth century, when Bishop Gower remodelled the Cathedral and built his magnificent palace,—a hostelry in which pilgrims of rank were no doubt, lodged.

Among royal pilgrims to St. David's were—William the Conqueror in 1081, the year in which he “subdued Wales;” Henry II., in 1171, and again in 1172, on his way to, and on his return from, Ireland. On the former occasion the King made an offering of two *utraque parte, ita quod illa nocte redire possint domi.*” From an Extent of the Bishop's land made in 1326. (Jones and Freeman, p. 104, note.)

” Ann. de Winton. The Welsh annals make the year 1079, but there can be no doubt as to the true date.

velvet copes, "intended for the singers in serving God and St. David, and he also offered a handful of silver, about ten shillings;"^o and it was while waiting here for a fair wind that Henry is said to have learned from a bard, who sang before him, the place of King Arthur's burial in the Isle of Avalon. In 1284, Edward I. and Queen Eleanor came in pilgrimage to St. David's.^p This is the last royal visit recorded. (For all that is known of St. David himself, see Part II.).

Although not in the presbytery, it will be well to mention here what appears to have been the *Shrine of St. Caradoc*,—a structure somewhat resembling what remains of the Shrine of St. David. This is on the south side of the north transept, not very far removed from the great shrine, though, of course, in a less honourable position. The tomb or shrine of Caradoc consists of a round arch, beneath which is a flat table, supported in front by a low wall, in which are two pointed arches, and between them two quatrefoils, chamfered inwards. Into these quatrefoils the hand can be inserted. Above the arch is a projecting fragment of wall, in which are two round holes set in squares, possibly air-holes. St. Caradoc, at first in the service of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, was afterwards ordained, served successively in the churches of Llandaff and St. David's, and finally lived a monastic life at St. Ishmael's, in

^o Brut y Tywysogion, sub annis. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 377.

^p 'Annales Cambriæ,' in ann. 1284.

Pembrokeshire. He died in 1124, and was canonized by Innocent III. at the instance of the famous Giraldus, Archdeacon of Brecknock. Caradoc, it is expressly stated, was buried in this transept (specially dedicated to St. Andrew), near the altar of St. Stephen,^a and, there can be no doubt that this is his tomb.

It was not usual, in earlier times, to allow that any interment should be made in the immediate neighbourhood of a great shrine. But this rule was at last broken. The Black Prince at Canterbury, and the magnificent prelate, Anthony Bek, at Durham, were the first who were laid near the shrines of St. Thomas and St. Cuthbert. The most conspicuous place in the presbytery of St. David's is occupied by the tomb of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor and Queen Catherine of Valois (widow of Henry V.), and father of King Henry VII. The Earl, however, was not at first buried here. He died in 1456, and was then buried in the Church of the Grey Friars at Caermarthen. At the Dissolution his remains were brought to St. David's together with the altar tomb which had been set up at Caermarthen in his son's reign. The tomb, therefore, was not placed where it now stands until after the shrine of St. David had been removed. It is in the centre of the presbytery, immediately in front of the entrance through the par-

^a "Et sic Meneviam corpus allatum crebra miracula tam præsentium quam sequentium quoque curacione, in ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ Sanctique David ala sinistra juxta altare sancti protomartyris Stephani, debita est celebritate tumulatum." *Giraldus, Itin. Cambriæ.*

close, from the choir. The altar tomb is of Purbeck marble, having side panels ornamented with small shallow quatrefoils, in a kind of reticulation. Each panel had a shield of arms in the centre; but all have disappeared, together with the brass on the top of the tomb, shields at the corners, an inscription at the feet of the figure, and others on the verge and at the end. The monument, which can never have been of great magnificence, and is now much shattered, is in striking contrast with the superb chapel and stately tomb erected by the Earl's royal son for his own resting-place.*

* The inscriptions on the verge and (probably) at the foot of the tomb, are given by Browne Willis, and more accurately by Jones and Freeman. That on the verge ran:—

“Under this marble stone here enclosed, resteth the Bones of that noble Lord Edmond Earl of Richmond, Father and Brother to Kings, the which departed out of this World in the year of Our Lord God, a thousand four hundred fifty and six, the first day of the month of November; on whose Soul, Almighty Jesu have Mercy. Amen.”

That at the foot was in verse:—

“Heu! Regum Genitor et Frater, splendidus Heros

Omnis quo micuit Regia Virtus, obit.

Herculeus Comes ille tuus Richmondia Duxque

Conditur Edmundus his modo Marmoribus.

Qui Regni clypeus, Comitum flos, malleus hostis,

Vitæ dexteritas, Pacis Amator erat.

Hic meditare vians te semper vivere posse?

Non morieris homo? Nonne miselle vides

Cæsar quem tremere armis, nec vinceret Hector

Ipsa devictum morte ruisse virum?

Cede metrum precibus: det Regum Conditor Almus

Ejus spiritui lucida regna poli.”

Before the late restoration, some broken tiles between St. David's shrine and the Earl of Richmond's tomb were pointed out as footprints of Cromwell's horse.

On the south side of the presbytery, in the third bay from the east, are effigies of two Bishops, placed side by side, but with sufficient space between them to allow of a pierced screen-work, which will probably be constructed so as to separate this bay of the presbytery from its aisle. The effigy on the north side—within the presbytery—is that of Bishop Anselm le Gras (1231-1247). He is in Eucharistic vestments, with a rich mitre. The head of his pastoral staff has graceful foliage, and the point pierces one of two dogs, on which the feet of the figure are resting. The head is placed on a plain roundel, slightly raised. Angels support a trefoiled canopy, on which are the words, “*Petra (sic) precor dic sic Anselmus Episcopus est hic.*”

The effigy on the south side (in the aisle) is of much later date, and very much worn. The Bishop is in Eucharistic vestments. The effigy has been assigned to Bishop Gervase (1215-1229), the immediate predecessor of Anselm, but is certainly the work of a much later period.

On the north side of the presbytery, in the easternmost bay, is the altar tomb with effigy of Thomas Lloyd, treasurer of the Cathedral, who died in 1612. An inscription records that the monument was placed here by his son Marmaduke, “*Jurisconsultus et Medii Templi socius.*”

In the *north choir aisle*, besides the back of St. David's shrine, already described, there is only one monument to be noticed. In the two easternmost bays,

at the back of the wall dividing the presbytery from the aisle, are canopied recesses recently restored, but apparently of the Early Decorated period, and more ancient than the remodelling of the aisle by Bishop Gower. The easternmost of these recesses is empty; but both are said to have contained effigies, and that in the western one, a priest with a lion at his feet, represented, it is traditionally asserted, Maredudd, Archdeacon of Cardigan, a son of the Lord Rhys, who died in 1228, and was buried here, near his father. This effigy has altogether disappeared, and the recess (see Plate X.) now contains (placed there since the restoration of the presbytery) an effigy of a knight in the armour of the latter half of the fourteenth century. The head reclines on a helmet bearing the crest, "On a chapeau a lion sejant." The body is covered by a jupon. The legs are in complete mail-armour. The feet rest on a lion, and on the jupon are the arms—a lion rampant, within a bordure engrailed, with a label of three points as a difference. This figure agrees precisely with one placed immediately opposite to it in the south aisle, except that the shield of that has no difference. The effigies are in hard oolite. Whom these effigies were intended to represent is not quite certain; but there was an old tradition at St. David's that they marked the tombs of Rhys ap Gruffydd, commonly called the Lord Rhys, and of his son Rhys Gryg. These alone of the South Welsh princes were buried at St. David's; but the first died in 1196, and the second in 1233. The effigies, therefore, if they represent them, must have

been placed here nearly two centuries later. The historians of St. David's suggest with great probability that they were erected by the family of Talbot, which, toward the end of the fourteenth century, was of great power and importance on the Welsh marches. An ancestor of the Talbots is said to have married Gwenllian, daughter of Rhys ap Gruffydd; and from that date it is asserted that his descendants assumed the arms of the Welsh princes—a lion rampant, with a bordure engrailed. However that may be, it is certain that the Talbots bore, and still bear, these arms; and that the belief in their descent from the princes of South Wales may have induced them to erect these memorials. A place of interment so near the shrine would have been assigned to none but personages of the highest dignity—a fact which greatly supports the tradition of the Cathedral. Until the late restoration, these effigies were in the presbytery, but in the same bays as they now occupy in the aisles.

In the *south choir aisle* the monuments are:—

In the easternmost bay on the north side, under the low presbytery wall, a priest in Eucharistic vestments, holding the Host (?) in his joined hands. This effigy is much worn, and has been assigned in error to Giraldus Cambrensis. It is of far later date, and rests on a base of Decorated character, which has (1870) been restored. Below it is the knightly effigy, resembling that in the north arch, already described.

Under the easternmost window in this aisle is the effigy of a priest, vested, with raised hands. It is

placed within a Decorated recess with a foliated canopy, "remarkable as possessing the only instance of ball-flower which occurs in the church, with the exception of that which appears in the Decorated stage of the tower."^s In front of the tomb are foliated panels with shields, resembling in some degree those on the base of the tomb opposite. The canopy is cut through by Bishop Gower's string course, indicating that the tomb was in place when the walls were raised.

In the next bay is an incised slab, bearing a very graceful cross with floriated ornaments in relief. On the chamfered edge is the inscription, in Lombardic letters:—

"Silvester medicus jacet hic ejus [que] ruina
Monstrat quod morti non obsistit medicina."

In the westernmost bay is placed the much worn figure of an ecclesiastic, holding a book in the right hand. The original site of this monument is uncertain, and until lately it was placed on the top of the tomb slab of the physician Silvester. It appears, however, that it belonged to this aisle.

In the *South Transept*, near the arch opening to the nave, is an incised slab, with a floriated cross, and the head of an ecclesiastic appearing above it through an opening in the stone. In the *North Transept*, west of the tomb of St. Caradoc, already described, is the figure of a priest under a Decorated canopy.

There are three effigies in compartments of the *rood screen*. On the south side, the compartment adjoining

^s Jones and Freeman, p. 122.

the entrance to the choir contains the figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, the head resting on a cushion supported by angels, the feet on a lion. The compartment beyond it is the resting-place of Bishop Gower (died 1347), the most distinguished and indefatigable of later benefactors to the Cathedral. The figure is in Eucharistic vestments, with mitre and pastoral staff. At the feet is a lion. The whole is much mutilated. In the south side of the altar tomb are eight figures of apostles. Bishop Gower is said to have been buried "in the chapel of St. John, which he built for his sepulture, under the rood-loft."¹ It is possible that the altar of St. John stood at the east end of this compartment, between it and the door opening to the transept.

On the north side of the choir entrance is the effigy of an ecclesiastic precisely resembling that opposite, but having a dog instead of a lion at the feet. The vaulting of this compartment retains much of its ancient painting. The emblems of the four Evangelists, and some rich leaf-work, are very perfect, and are no doubt of Gower's time. At the east and west ends of the compartment are traces of figures, but too much decayed to be intelligible. Attempts have been made to assign the effigies of the two priests to various persons; but there is no authority for doing so, beyond a tradition preserved by Browne Willis, that they re-

¹ Browne Willis; and so Leland, *Collect.* ii. 322. 'Henricus Gower in Capella S. Joannis.' (Quoted by Jones and Freeman, p. 83.)

presented a treasurer and a chancellor. It is possible that two such dignitaries, associated with Gower, may have been buried here.^u

In the *South Aisle of the Nave*, under the easternmost window, is a Decorated recess, "with a canopy of very peculiar form, which may be described as a semi-octagon with concave sides, the apex and the two adjoining angles being adorned with finials radiating from the centre. It resembles, to a certain extent, the form recurring so frequently in the tombs of Bristol Cathedral; and is clearly a development of the idea which produced the semi-octagonal doorways in the rood screen and the palace. Perhaps we may regard it as one instance among many of the influence of

^u The excavations for the foundations of the tower piers, and for those of the timber shoring, unfortunately rendered it necessary to disturb the tombs in the choir screen, and some of those adjoining. Every care was taken in the removal and replacing of the remains. Before disturbing the graves, Mr. Clear, who was then Clerk of the Works, "gave formal notice to the Cathedral authorities, and also to many of the leading inhabitants, and in their presence they were opened, with all conceivable care, and the remains deposited in chests prepared for the purpose, excepting only such more valuable accompaniments as crosiers, rings, chalices, &c., which were put in a separate case, or taken care of by members of the Chapter. The remains were screwed down in presence of the witnesses thus summoned, and never again opened till the works which necessitated their removal were completed, when similar notices were again sent out, and the remains carefully restored to their places in the presence of those who assembled, and the tombs made complete and finally closed." Second Report (1869) on St. David's Cathedral, by G. G. Scott. For a description of the objects found in the tombs, and now preserved in the Chapter-house, see *post*, § XXI.

Bristol upon the architecture of South Wales. A canopy of a somewhat similar design occurs in a tomb at Cheriton, or Stackpole Elidur, in Pembrokeshire.”^x Beneath the canopy is the figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, lying on an altar tomb of plain ashlar. The figure and tomb are of the same date as the canopy ; but the tomb somewhat interferes with the design, and may therefore have been brought from elsewhere.

In the *Nave*, before the dais, are two slabs, from which brasses have been removed. They mark the graves of William Wilcock (d. 1502) and Richard Rayader (d. cir. 1530), successively prebendaries of St. Nicholas, and masters of St. Mary’s College.

On the south side of the nave, in the second bay from the east, is the monument of Bishop John Morgan (1496–1504). It is an altar tomb, with an effigy of the Bishop in chasuble, dalmatic, alb, stole, and maniple, with mitre and pastoral staff. The hands have singular gloves. On the north side of the tomb are six figures of apostles. Those on the south have been cut away. At the foot is sculptured the Resurrection of our Lord ; at the head is a griffin, the bearing of Bishop Morgan, and a shield inscribed with the letters “ W. and I.” in a cypher.^y The sculpture of this tomb is unusually spirited and graceful, whilst its architectural details

^x Jones and Freeman, p. 109.

^y These initials have not been explained. There is, however, no possible doubt as to the personage for whom this monument was designed.

are poor and debased. It is "a striking commentary on the state of the arts at that important period of transition; and it is extremely curious to observe the corruptions of the latter art manifesting themselves in tombs in the first instance. The monument of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey is of course a remarkable case of the same kind."²

XVIII. We come now to the portion of the Cathedral east of the presbytery, very peculiar in plan, and rendered difficult of comprehension from the many changes it has undergone, and from the state of ruin to which it is now reduced. The whole is roofless, except the central divisions - Bishop Vaughan's Chapel and the vestibule of the Lady Chapel. These retain their groined ceilings. The arrangement of all this part of the Cathedral will best be understood by a reference to the plan. The aisles of the presbytery are carried eastward, but do not terminate exactly parallel with each other, or in the same manner. Beyond them projects the Lady Chapel. Between this and the eastern wall of the presbytery are two spaces divided by a solid wall, and forming the vestibule of the Lady Chapel and the Chapel called Bishop Vaughan's. These are entered from the aisles, north and south.

Bishop de Leia's church terminated, there can be little doubt, at the existing east wall of the presbytery and its aisles; and when that church was reconstructed after the fall of the tower, no attempt was made to carry it farther to the east, or to add any eastern

² Jones and Freeman, p. 109.

chapels. But it seems probable that, shortly before the earthquake which greatly damaged the church in the year 1248, the construction of a Lady Chapel, or at least of a retrochoir with a space for altars, had been begun, probably in connection with the foundation, by Bishop Anselm, of a daily mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin. The earthquake may have interrupted this work, and apparently it was not continued for some little time. The original design may have been carried out at last, but there must have been many changes in detail.

This design necessarily involved the construction of the chapel aisles, which are in fact a continuation of those of the presbytery, and are approached by arches broken through what had been the eastern wall of de Leia's church. These aisles were connected at their eastern ends by a cross aisle, forming a sort of retrochoir or ambulatory, entered north and south by a couplet of arches, and having, so far as can be ascertained, a shallow projection toward the east, with sufficient space for at least one altar. All this work was completed during the Early English period, though the exact date remains uncertain. During the episcopate of Bishop Martyn (1290-1328) the Lady Chapel was built, projecting eastward from the cross aisle, and completing the present ground plan of the Cathedral.

Bishop Gower (1328-1347) altered the walls of the aisles throughout the Cathedral. The north and east walls of the North Chapel aisle were only raised, in the same manner as most of the other walls in the

church ; but the south and east walls of the South aisle were rebuilt from the ground, and the aisle itself was slightly extended eastward. This aisle is wider than the north aisle opposite. The aisle of the presbytery, west of it (§ XIII.), was certainly widened in the Early English period, and was then perhaps made to agree with the dimensions of the South (Early English) Chapel aisle. If this was the case, Bishop Gower's south wall was raised on the foundations of the Early English one.

Bishop Gower made also considerable changes in the Lady Chapel, in which (1334) he founded a chantry.

Throughout these changes, the space immediately at the back of the high altar (now Bishop Vaughan's Chapel) remained unappropriated, and was possibly open to the sky. The cross aisle, or vestibule of the Lady Chapel, was closed westward by a solid wall. The space west of it may have been entered from the aisles ; but its condition is uncertain, and all that is clearly known is that as late as the time of Bishop Vaughan himself it is described as "*vilissimus sive sordidissimus locus in totâ ecclesiâ.*" It is possible that this space had been allowed to remain open in order to preserve the full effect of the lower range of windows in the east wall of the presbytery. These may have retained their glazing until Bishop Vaughan (1509 - 1522) took possession of the "*vilissimus locus,*" and converted it into the beautiful chapel which bears his name. He then blocked at the back the lower tier of the presbytery windows, and constructed arches opening

into his Chapel north and south. These arches must have been cut through a solid wall—in which, however, there may have been smaller openings giving access to the space which hitherto had been waste.

The Lady Chapel and its vestibule had been prepared for vaulting in both Early English and Decorated times; but the vaults, as in the rest of the Cathedral, had never been completed. They were now added by Bishop Vaughan, who also made alterations in the roofs and windows of this eastern part of the Church, on which, as containing his own Chapel, he bestowed the greater part of his attention.

The Lady Chapel and aisles were stripped of their lead during the Civil War, and consequently soon fell into ruin. The vault of the Lady Chapel fell about the year 1775; and after that date some heavy buttresses were built against the interior walls of both Chapel and aisles, in order to prevent their further destruction. These masses of modern masonry do not tend to make the architectural history of this part of the church at all clearer. They are themselves misleading; and the early work is so mixed and varied as to produce a jumble of styles by no means easy to decipher or to understand. It will therefore be better to describe separately the remains of each architectural period.

XIX. (a) The evidence which renders it probable that a Lady Chapel or retrochoir was begun shortly before the earthquake of 1248, is to be found in the couplet of Early English arches on the south side of what is now the approach or vestibule to the existing

Lady Chapel. These arches differ from those which correspond to them on the north side. The section of the piers is not the same, and the capitals have a minute nail-head-moulding, which is not found elsewhere in the church. The arches are lower and wider than those opposite; and "the eastern respond of the northern couplet bonds in with the masonry adjoining it both to the east and south, that is, both with the south wall of that part of the north aisle which stands free, and with the transverse wall forming the west end of the Lady Chapel. The northern couplet is palpably of a piece with the latter wall, and with the two arches in it. But the corresponding respond of the southern couplet not only does not bond in with the wall east of it, that is, the southern wall of the Lady Chapel, but not even with the transverse wall containing the arches. The inference from this is that the two couplets are of different dates, the southern being the earlier, the present western wall of the Lady Chapel being contemporary with the northern one and not with the southern. This looks as if the work had been interrupted during its progress, and was afterwards continued from substantially the same design."*

(b) Of the next period, still Early English, but somewhat later (*circa* 1248), during which the Lady Chapel in its first form (as a cross aisle) and the chapel aisles were built, the existing remains are—the lower part of the wall of the north aisle, and the western wall of what is now the ante-chapel. The aisle wall is Early

* Jones and Freeman, pp. 153-4.

English as high as the string course ; above, it is Decorated of Bishop Gower's time. Monuments of later date (see § xx.) have been inserted in the Early English portion. On the north side, fragments of round Early English vaulting shafts appear below the Decorated ones, which are octagonal. The vaulting arches are nearly perfect on the other side, but there is no evidence that the Early English or the Decorated vaulting was ever completed.

(c) To the third period, that of a transition from Early English to Decorated, belongs the existing Lady Chapel in its original form. The walls are of this date, and throughout an attempt has evidently been made to assimilate the architecture to the Early English of the adjoining aisles. The capitals are very similar to those in the north aisle. The Decorated string still surrounds the whole interior (except where it is cut through by monuments). Traces of the Decorated vaulting system remain—the original shafts are preserved at the four corners. The windows were small ; and in the western bay, on the south side, one, although blocked, remains perfect, with jamb, shaft, and capital.

It will be seen from the plan that the Lady Chapel is not placed centrally, but that while the termination of the south aisle abuts on its southern wall, the north aisle is separated from the chapel by a space of blank wall. The north aisle was evidently carried to its present length by the original builders. Whether the south aisle, which now projects farther eastward, was lengthened by Bishop Gower, is somewhat uncertain

but is very probable (see *ante*, § XVIII.). These peculiarities, together with the almost inexplicable changes and patchings which appear at the entrance of the Lady Chapel, are additional proofs of a change of plan, and seem to indicate that Bishop Martyn found considerable difficulty in adapting his Lady Chapel to the smaller and less elaborate retrochoir with altars which he found existing. The arches which now open to the chapel from the vestibule do not by any means form a suitable approach to it,^b and the masonry of these arches does not belong to that of the chapel itself. But the difference in architectural detail is so slight that the earlier retrochoir, with its aisles, cannot have been long completed before Bishop Martyn's accession.

(d) To the fourth or Decorated period belong the upper part of the north aisle; the whole of the south aisle; the sedilia and some other insertions in the Lady Chapel; and some monuments.

Bishop Gower, to whom all this work is due, changed altogether the system of vaulting which had been designed for the Early English aisles. Each aisle had at first five narrow bays, necessarily of no great height, since the roof was a "lean-to," resting against the wall of the central division. Three bays were now substituted for five; and the walls were raised, so as to admit of this change, and of the insertion of larger windows. The Decorated vaulting shafts remain in each aisle, as well as, in some places, the springers of the intended vaulting. The windows in both aisles

^b Jones and Freeman, p. 156.

have either been blocked, or have completely lost their tracery. The south aisle, of which the walls were at this time built from the ground, shows the Decorated design to far greater advantage than the north. "The roof is indeed gone, the windows blocked, the whole disfigured and confused by the great arched props which have been found necessary to support the tottering walls of the central space; still we have the well-moulded strings, the delicate octagonal and clustered vaulting-shafts, and above all, their beautiful flowered capitals."^c

In the Lady Chapel the principal Decorated inscriptions are the sedilia and two tomb recesses, which, as appears probable, were monuments erected by Bishop Gower to his predecessors, Bishops Beck and Martyn. These are described *post*, (§ xx.). The sedilia in the south wall are triple, and have rich canopies, which suggested those above the niches on the north side of the choir screen. Bishop Martyn's tomb, west of these sedilia, is in fact a part of the same design.

(e) The work of the Perpendicular period, embracing Bishop Vaughan's Chapel and the vault of the vestibule to the Lady Chapel, remains more complete than any of the earlier construction. The vaulted roof of the Lady Chapel, which was of this date, and the work of Bishop Vaughan, has perished; and the large Perpendicular windows, which were at this time inserted in the same chapel, are now entirely built up. The Decorated east window appears indeed to have been blocked by Bishop Vaughan himself; with what object it is

^c Jones and Freeman, p. 72.

difficult to understand, since no preparation seems to have been made for any decoration of the internal blank wall.

It may here be added that the awkward mass of masonry raised against the west wall of the Chapel, and partly blocking the arches of entrance, dates from the beginning of the present century. But for this rough buttress, the whole wall, and possibly the side walls of the Chapel, would long since have fallen.

The vault of the vestibule to the Lady Chapel is very plain and poor in detail. That of the Lady Chapel itself was apparently not less beautiful and elaborate than that which still remains in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.

This, which is also called the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, was formed, as we have seen, by vaulting over a space, which up to that time had been, to all appearance, neglected and "sordid." Perpendicular arches, of which the proportions and excellent mouldings deserve careful attention, were constructed in the walls north and south, which hitherto seem to have been blank. The lower part of these arches is crossed by stone screens, in each of which is a doorway. Above each arch is a clerestory window. The roof (Plate XL.) is of two main bays, with excellent fan tracery, resembling in general character that of King's College Chapel, or of the so-called "New Work," the rich eastern transept of Peterborough Cathedral. The roof rises from shafts, of which the central ones are corbelled off, with figures of winged angels as the



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL. RECESS IN BISHOP VAUGHAN'S
CHAFEL.

corbels. Against the east wall the base of the altar remains, and on either side is a square-headed opening, piercing the wall to the ante-chapel beyond. North and south of these openings is a lofty and beautiful niche, canopied and bracketed. In the west wall are seen the mouldings (much shattered) of the two outer windows of the range forming the lower tier in the wall of the presbytery. These windows were blocked by Bishop Vaughan. In the centre, below the place of the central light, the traces of which were hidden by the vaulting and the vaulting corbels, is a remarkable arched recess (Plate XII.), which until quite recently was blocked with masonry like the windows. It was opened during the restoration of the east wall of the presbytery, and a very interesting discovery was then made—the discovery, as there seems strong reason to believe, of the actual relics of St. David.

Traces of this recess were visible in the wall before the late restoration; and Messrs. Jones and Freeman suggest that a doorway had formerly existed at the back of the high altar. But this was not the case. The recess had good mouldings, part of which (especially the projecting outer moulding) has been cut away, so that, before it was opened, the character of the arch was by no means clear. It is now seen that it did not descend to the floor of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, but that it enclosed a recess, the bottom of which is raised about 3 feet from the floor of the chapel, and 1 foot 6 inches above the present altar dais in the presbytery. This flooring of the recess is

of plain, rough stone, which passes under the arch mouldings. The back is walled up, and has in the centre a small squared stone, sculptured with a circlet of enriched work, surrounding a cross with equal arms, the interstices between which are pierced. This is the cross which is seen in the presbytery (§ x.). The arms are rubbed smooth as if with frequent handling. On either side of this central cross is a stone, carved with crosses and circlets; and above it is a stone, curiously worked, and also bearing a cross. The whole of this arrangement will best be understood by a reference to the Plate (XII.). The central cross and the sculptured stones are apparently of the same date as the Transitional work of the nave. They should be compared with the roundels and other designs in the spandrils of the nave triforium arches. The back of the recess is about the centre of the rubble wall, which was probably part of de Leia's work, and remained after the fall of the tower.

On opening this recess, it was found that the lower part had been filled with human remains. The bones were piled up nearly to the lower part of the central cross, thus covering about half the depth of the recess. It appeared that mortar in a liquid state had been poured on those below, since they formed a complete mass, with the mortar still adhering to them. The upper part of the recess, above the bones, was filled with rough walling stones, the wall with which the recess was closed being of no great thickness.

The whole of this recess, in Mr. Scott's judgment,

is Transitional, and of de Leia's time. But it is not easy to understand for what purposes it was intended. The pierced central cross may have served as a hagioscope; although, as has been said, its arms are worn smooth by frequent handling. We must believe that it had from the beginning been set in the centre of the rubble wall forming the lower part of de Leia's east end; and that there had always been an opening through it to the vacant space which became Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.^d No trace of the recess appears on the east wall of the presbytery, and, although Bishop Vaughan may have turned it to account, it certainly existed before the construction of his chapel. But whatever purpose it may have been originally intended to serve, it is impossible to doubt that the bones which were found in it were placed there after the religious changes of the sixteenth century. Had such a recess been prepared for relics by Bishop Vaughan, it would not of course have been walled

^d It has indeed been suggested that the pierced cross formed an opening to the shrine or reliquary of St. David, placed, as was most usual with great shrines, at the back of the high altar. To this the objections, apparently insurmountable, are—first, that the shrine must have occupied the place of the present recess, and thus have been actually in the waste space—the “*locus sordidissimus*”—which in that case would surely not have been neglected until the time of Bishop Vaughan; and next, that the constant tradition of St. David's has always placed the shrine on the north side of the presbytery (see *ante*, § XVII.). The discovery of this pierced cross and recess renders it still more difficult to explain the early condition of the space which Bishop Vaughan took for his chapel, or to account for its neglected condition.

up, nor would the relics have been mixed with mortar. No account exists of the manner in which the relics of St. David and St. Caradoc were disposed of, after they had been removed from their shrines; and it seems far from unreasonable to conclude that they were placed—with a desire possibly to prevent their desecration^c—in this recess, which was partly filled with mortar and then walled up. Any attempt to explain the recess and its contents is full of difficulty, but that which has been suggested is at least not impossible. It should be added that the bones taken from the recess have been carefully preserved, and will not be removed from the Cathedral.

Fragments of ancient crosses and tomb slabs, some which may be of earlier date than the crosses in the recess, now remain on the floor of the Chapel, and deserve attention.

XX. The *monuments* in the eastern chapels are all worn and shattered. Some are partly overgrown with moss, the result of long exposure to the weather.

In the *Lady Chapel*, on the south side, west of the sedilia, is the Decorated tomb which has already been mentioned. The canopy is straight-sided, with a cinque-foiled arch, rising from octagonal shafts. "The canopy blocks an Early Decorated window, and cuts a string just where it makes a step, and has in its turn

^c Care seems to have been taken to prevent the desecration of altar slabs removed from different parts of the Cathedral about the same time as the relics were taken from the shrine. The altar slabs were laid in the pavement near the high altar, where they would be safe (see *ante*, § xii.).

been made to carry the Perpendicular vaulting added by Bishop Vaughan, its finial having for that purpose been turned into a corbel.”^f The figure of a Bishop formerly existed below the canopy ; but hardly a trace now remains. The monument is no doubt the work of Bishop Gower, and is said to mark the resting-place of Bishop David Martyn, builder of the Lady Chapel. It may have replaced a more simple structure.

Opposite, in the north wall, is a much defaced tomb, which seems to have been of precisely similar character. The effigy it once contained has altogether disappeared ; and although it has been assigned to Bishop Houghton (1362-1389) it is more probably the tomb of Bishop Beck (1280-1293), the predecessor of Martyn. It is no doubt Gower’s work, like the tomb opposite.

In this Chapel is also the tomb slab of an ecclesiastic, the head of the figure alone appearing through a circle at the top of the stone. It is utterly defaced.

In the *North Chapel Aisle* (at the east end of which was St. Nicholas’s Chapel), on the south side, east of the screen opening to Bishop Vaughan’s Chapel, a fragment of a Decorated tomb canopy remains, the rest of which has been cut away by the chapel arch. Its existence seems to prove that the “waste place” now occupied by the chapel must have been closed at the sides by walls ; although there must surely have been some door of entrance, however narrow. In the wall adjoining the arch, is a stone sculptured with the

^f Jones and Freeman, p. 121.

Crucifixion, St. Mary and St. John. This may have belonged to the Decorated tomb.

Below is a low altar-tomb with a panelled arcade in front, and on it the much shattered figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments. Above the panelling runs an inscription:—

“Orate pro anima Johannis [hiot] nuper Archi”

This is the monument of John Hiot, Archdeacon of St. David's, who died in 1419.

On the north side of the aisle, nearly opposite, occupying what was once a wall recess, is the mutilated figure of a knight in chain-mail, perhaps dating from the reign of Henry III. It is overgrown with moss and wild plants. A chantry was founded in this aisle at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Sir John Wogan of Picton, Chief Justiciary of Ireland under Edward I.; and the effigy probably represents a member of his family.

East of this is the effigy of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, the feet resting on a dog. The canopy for the head “forming a spherical triangle and adorned with crockets,” is unusual, but is found in the Decorated tomb in the south presbytery aisle (the easternmost tomb in the south wall, see § XVII.), and also in a tomb in the chancel of Carew Church, and in one at Nangle, in Pembrokeshire.^s The canopy of the recess was once cinque-foiled, and has a peculiar leaf ornament in the exterior moulding. The monument is ascribed to one of the Wogan family.

^s Jones and Freeman, p. 120.

In the *South Aisle* (of which the east end formed the Chapel of King Edward the Confessor), under the south-east wall of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, is the shattered figure of a knight in armour of the thirteenth century. The lower part of the figure is cut off by the modern prop by which the wall is buttressed.

Opposite is a Decorated tomb recess, with a cinque-foiled arch.

In front of the site of the altar, in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, is a marble slab once covered with a brass plate. The remains of fastenings exist. It marks the tomb of the founder of the Chapel, buried, as was usual, in the midst of his own work. Browne Willis gives the following verses, which were engraven on the brass, at the foot of the episcopal figure:—

“Præsul Meneviæ Edwardus Vaughan hic jacet, et Lux
Ecclesiæ, et Patriæ Fautor, Honorque Decus.
Quinque talenta habuit Domini, et docte et sapienter
Et bene tractavit, fudit, et auxit ea.
Ergo Deus dic Pontifici huic, Bone et euge Fidelis
Serve! intra in Domini gaudia summa tui.”

XXI. Leaving the Cathedral by the western door (which, together with the existing west front, has already, § iv., been described), the *south exterior* (see *Frontispiece*) of the church may first be noticed. The south side of the nave is broken in the second bay from the west by a projecting porch. The aisle windows, of which the tracery is Decorated, were renewed in accordance with their original designs, by Butterfield in 1849. For them, as for the windows of the transept and of the choir aisle, the stone used is a

yellowish oolite, contrasting well with the dark colour of the main building. The clerestory windows, two in each bay (the bays being marked by flat pilaster buttresses) are late Norman, low, broad, and round-headed. They are quite plain, and have been repaired with purple Caerfai stone. They will be very much improved in appearance by the addition of new corbelled parapets. (Some of the old corbels remain—each corbel forming a water-spout.) But the exterior of the nave is in fact heavy, and not very interesting; nor is the south porch, which breaks its line, by any means an attractive feature. Its outer portal is Late Perpendicular, as is the window of the parvise chamber above it. A south porch was first added by Bishop Gower in the Decorated period; but it was afterwards greatly altered, and its modern gable and external staircase (on the west side) will doubtless be swept away in the course of restoration. The Parvise chamber, now approached by this external staircase, was originally entered from a staircase turret, attached to the buttress, and opening to the interior of the nave. A flight of five steps within the porch, rises to the inner portal—a very rich work of Gower's time. It took the place of a much smaller Norman portal, of which portions of the plinths remain. The doorway is enriched with a profusion of sculpture, all of which is shattered and defaced. The principal subject is the Root of Jesse, with figures of Adam and Eve, apparently, on the western impost, and on the other the patriarch Jesse, from whom springs the branch. At

the top of the arch is a representation of the Holy Trinity, with censing angels. The pinnacles of this doorway are cut off by the vaulting of the porch.

In the Parvise chamber, which is used as a Chapter-house of the Vicar's Choral, is an oaken case, glazed, containing a few relics from the tombs near the choir screen (see *ante*, § XVII.), and others which have been found in and near the Cathedral. The most interesting is the head of a pastoral staff, of bronze, gilt, found in one of the tombs under the screen. The central boss of the staff, with a fragment of wood adhering to it, was also discovered, and is preserved in the case. This relic is of Early Decorated character; but there is no certain evidence by which the bishop in whose coffin it had been laid can be identified. In the case are two chalices found in coffins opened when the tower was strengthened. There is also a mass of cere cloth from a coffin found near the centre of the arch opening to the choir.

In the *South Transept*, the outline of the great Early Perpendicular window, blocked when the existing Perpendicular lights were inserted, is plainly visible. These windows have been repaired, but otherwise the transept (with the exception of the restoration of the chapel on the east side to its proper form) is as yet untouched. The flat turrets with angle shafts flanking the front, are part of the original Transition work. The octagonal form in which the turrets end is later. The gables have been lowered.

The best general view of the tower and of this side

of the church will be found about halfway down the steps that descend into the churchyard, from beyond the great castellated gateway of the close. The ruined and ivy-covered east end of the Cathedral, with the broken ground beyond, and the crags of Penbery in the distance, here form a landscape of very great beauty and interest; and the chief architectural features are better seen from this point than from any other. The exterior of the *central tower* is not striking. It is of three stages, without buttresses; and since each stage is of a different period, and no attempt has been made to combine or harmonize them, the whole has been well called a piece of architectural patchwork. The lowest stage is Transitional, with angle shafts at the north-east and south-east. The second is Decorated, with a tall two-light window in each face. On either side of each window is a small niche; and above, close under the string course, are two very small lancet lights, "or rather loopholes." A string, with the ball-flower ornament, runs round the base of this story. The highest, or Perpendicular stage, has two small windows in the centre of each face, with an octagonal shaft running up between them, from the lower string course to the base of the parapet. The parapet and pinnacles are very poor. At the angles of this stage are polygonal clustered shafts, which project in such a manner as to give the whole stage the appearance of being top-heavy. In contemplating the great mass of the tower we become more fully alive to the extreme difficulties encountered by Mr. Scott when

providing for its safety, and so happily surmounted by him (see § VIII.).

The windows of the *South Presbytery Aisle* are, as we have seen (§ XIII.), entirely modern, and date from the present restoration. The buttresses and their pinnacles have also been restored with purple Caerfai stone. The beautiful parapet is also modern. At the east end of the presbytery the ancient arrangement of the upper tier of windows has been most carefully and ingeniously restored. "The design," says Mr. Scott, "is very beautiful and interesting. Internally the windows form a continuous arcade, . . . while externally—the lights being narrow and the piers between them wide—the latter are occupied each by a double niche, a fellow to which flanks either jamb; so that while the arcade within consists of four arches, that without is formed of four *groups* of arches, making twelve in all, four being windows and eight niches. The details of all are excellent; unfortunately, however, the roof of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel prevents the external group from being seen with any effect, though within we have now, so far as the forms of the windows go, the ancient arrangement complete, and a most effective and beautiful one it is."^b

The roof of the Presbytery was lowered when the Perpendicular window, now removed, was inserted in the eastern wall. The weather moulding of the original roof is visible against the east wall of the tower, and indicates that "the excess of height in the choir.

^b G. G. Scott. Report of 1869, p. 16.

which is now very conspicuous, must have been designed, in a smaller degree, from the time when the present clerestorey was built. It may probably have been occasioned by the rise of the ground toward the east."ⁱ

The eastern Chapels and aisles call for little further description. It may well be hoped that, like the rest of the church, they will at no very distant time be thoroughly and judiciously restored. Mr. Scott's remarks on this subject are added below.^k

ⁱ Jones and Freeman, p. 67.

^k "The problem to be solved" (respecting these eastern chapels) "is how to recover their original forms and features, and how to bring them into a state of reasonable, seemly, and permanent reparation, with the least possible interference with the interest which attaches to them as relics of antiquity The first step would be to repair those walls which seem to retain a fair amount of strength, to examine and open out the blocked-up windows, to search for remnants of their tracery; and, having recovered their design, to restore them, bringing in such portions of old work as are capable of being retained. The next parts to be dealt with are those of more doubtful substantiality, and with these the object to be aimed at will be to recover their strength without reconstruction. A remainder will probably be found to exist, of parts whose condition demands their renovation; and here the object will be to reconstruct them exactly according to their original forms, and in such a manner as best to accord with the old work around them The roof must then be added Happily, in two instances the vaulting remains, and there can be no doubt that it has once existed over the Lady Chapel itself. It may be doubtful how far, with all our reparation, the old walls could be trusted to bear the weight and thrust of stone vaulting; and I should incline to the expedient of forming the vaulting in oak upon the old stone springers." In dealing with the minor details, and with the "interesting and most valuable series" of tombs, continues Mr. Scott, "I would urge the most conservative course.

Opposite the east end of the Lady Chapel, and at no great distance from it, is the spring of water which St. David, according to the legend of his life, and to a local tradition, caused to break forth for the service of his disciples, and which, after the erection of the Lady Chapel, seems to have been known as "St. Mary's Well." It was this spring which, according to Giraldus, sometimes changed its water into wine, and sometimes into milk.¹ It is now (1871) covered with earth and refuse thrown on it during the draining of the hill behind it (see § III.); but it is supposed to be uninjured, although an enormous volume of water has been carried off by the drainage. It should be properly cleared and protected.

XXII. The *North* side of the Cathedral has a very unusual appearance, owing first, to the great mass of St. Thomas's Chapel, with the Chapter-house above it

If in any degree renewed, their interest would be lost; they must be preserved as shattered and time-worn relics of the past and little more done to them than is necessary to secure them against further mutilation and decay. For the latter purpose, the course followed in dealing with the royal monuments in Westminster Abbey would probably be applicable to them. I mean the saturation of the pulverizing stone with an indurating solution."—'First Report,' pp. 24, 25.

¹ "Quo Pater audito, ad locum Cœmeterii, ubi frequentius Angelicis frui consueverat alloquiis, statim accessit. Cunque ibidem aliquamdiu devotis ad Dominum orationibus institisset, limpidissimæ fons aquæ eodem in loco prorupit. Qui sacramentalibus plenum usibus idoneus et officiis, usque in hodiernum ibidem emanat; antiquis aliquando vinum temporibus, nostris autem aliquotiens lac stillare diebus, indubitata veritate compertus."—*Giraldus*, Vita S. Dav. ap. Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 634.

(§ xiv.) which projects from the east side of the transept, and rises to a somewhat greater elevation; and next to the walls and tower, still massive though in ruin, of St. Mary's College, which is connected by the east wall of the cloister with the north face of the transept. From the east, or north-east, therefore, the north side of the nave is almost completely hidden. It was not, even before the erection of St. Mary's College, of so much architectural importance as the south side, and there is no reason to suppose that a cloister existed here before the foundation of St. Mary's College.

The view above this side of the church, however, (Plate XIII.) from the broken ground on the north-east, combining, as it does, the Cathedral, St. Mary's College, the ruined palace beyond the Alan rivulet, and a grand rocky background, is perhaps the finest and most varied at St. David's; and nearer the church the fragments of ruin group very picturesquely with the transeptal building, producing beautiful effects of light and of colour. In the eastern Chapel aisle, Gower's Decorated windows remain, though blocked up; and the buttresses, with their pinnacles, are nearly perfect. The tall mass, including the Chapel and Chapter-house above it (for their history see § xiv.) has been much altered, chiefly by the blocking and mutilating of the windows. "The roof, itself modern, is ready to fall in; the parapets, pinnacles, &c., are in a state of absolute ruin; indeed, the whole building may be almost correctly described in the same terms." The restoration of this portion of the Cathedral will no



doubt be soon effected. The original tracery of the windows at the east end has quite disappeared. There are three windows over each other; that in the topmost stage, in form a spherical triangle, being altogether blocked. Above, in the gable, is a small niche. Tall buttresses, in three stages, rise at the angles.

The end of the *North Transept* is almost filled by the large Decorated window, inserted in 1846. The gable of the old roof remains above it; but the roof itself has been lowered. It will now (1871) be restored to its old pitch, as a result of the groining of the transept (see § XIV.). The west side of the transept will have a parapet carried on corbels according to the old design, which can be traced out in the angle next the tower. There will be a pinnacle at the north-west angle. In this west wall there are two Transitional windows, and a doorway below. The doorway has a semicircular outer arch, with a segmental head within, forming a solid tympanum. Almost immediately after its construction, half the opening was built up, making a narrow doorway in place of a wide one. At a later period the doorway was walled up, but so as to leave a recess within. In this recess was inserted a slab, slightly hollowed on the top, with a drain and spout (the latter showing on the outside). A portion of the slab has been found, and reset. On the left side is a small circular hollow with a channel leading into the larger trough. The eill of the doorway is much below the level of the Transept floor.

It must have been approached by steps within the Transept.

The east wall of a cloister attached to the College of St. Mary, connects that College with the transept. Passing through a door at the north-east angle of the cloister, we are in front of the north wall of the nave. This is "supported by enormous masses of masonry in the form of vast flying buttresses, which would ordinarily be considered a disfigurement; but here, in connection with the general ruggedness of the external architecture, and especially from their close proximity to the ruins of St. Mary's College, they serve to add considerably to the strange and imposing effect of magnificent desolation produced by the whole scene."^m These great buttressing masses were added during the Perpendicular period. They receive (all except the westernmost) the thrust of the flying buttresses, which are partly seen within the aisle (§ VII.), and which were erected in order to prevent the clerestory wall from falling. This had been much shaken by the earthquake of 1248, and had ever since been in an insecure condition.

The wall of the clerestory on this side of the church is faced with ashlar, the rest of the external walls being chiefly of rubble. The clerestory on the south side is also faced with ashlar, but the stone has there been covered with plaster as a protection from the storms to which that side is open.

^m Jones and Freeman, p. 54.

The north doorway, by which the Cathedral is entered on this side, is in the second bay from the west. It is Transitional, not very richly decorated; "the mouldings of the arch begin to approximate to Early English, exhibiting specimens of those forms intermediate between the chevron and the tooth ornament of which we find so rich a store within."^a

XXIII. The great buttresses which support the clerestory wall exhibit traces of a *cloister* connected with St. Mary's College, one side of which was partly built, or was intended to have been built, against them. The cloister was rectangular. The wall arcade and springers of the vaulting remain on the north side against the wall of the College Chapel. On the east side, under what was the sacristy of the Chapel, and against the wall connecting the College with the transept, four bays are traced out and a fifth begun. On the west side the wall is almost completely gone. On the south side remains of the masonry of the cloister are worked in with the westernmost buttress, and with that adjoining. The extreme south bay of the cloister thus stood between these buttresses, which must have been built while the cloister was still existing; since, in their construction, care was evidently taken to avoid any interference with it. The two eastern buttresses show no trace of any walls in the neighbourhood of them, and they are built further out than the others. The cloister, therefore, was never completed on this side. At its southern extremity

^a Jones and Freeman, p. 54.

there was a door, but the cloister stood separate from the north wall of the Cathedral, though brought sufficiently near to it. The members of the College thus obtained a covered way to the church, and the north door remained as a way of approach from the prebendal houses, which, if the cloister had been carried up to it, would have been cut off from the readiest access to the Cathedral. The existing traces of the cloister are of Late Decorated character. The vaulting shafts of the north side are round, and there are some bosses of foliage.

XXIV. The cloister, like the *College of St. Mary*, to which it was attached, was the work of Bishop Adam Houghton (1362-1389). He was co-founder, with John of Gaunt, of the College, or chantry, which consisted of a master, seven fellows or chaplains, and two choristers. The master was commonly a Canon of the Cathedral, and the whole establishment was under the control of the Precentor of the Cathedral.*

The existing ruins of the College are those of the Chapel with a sacristy attached to it at the south-east angle, and of a fragment of the domestic building north of the tower. The complete ruin to which these remains are now reduced was by no means altogether the work of time. During the construction of the modern west front of the Cathedral, the tracery of the Chapel windows, and much of the ashlar work of

* The College was well endowed. For the endowment and for the body of statutes issued for the regulation of the College in 1372, see Dugdale's '*Monasticon*,' vi. p. 1390.

their jambs was stripped away in order to supply material for Nash's building. This is the more to be regretted because there is sufficient evidence that the window tracery was unusually good; the east window, in especial, must have been a very fine example of Early Perpendicular. Nash, however, followed the example of earlier spoliators. The interior of the Chapel had been thoroughly cleared long before his time, and the tomb of the founder had been so completely destroyed, that the only existing traces of it are the marks against the north-east wall, where the ashlar has been torn away.

From whatever point of view the Chapel is seen, its tall, slender tower first attracts notice. This, like the Chapel itself—the height of which is everywhere striking—is raised on a long crypt, which runs longitudinally, “and consists of a single elliptical barrel vault, cut into on the north side by the rear arches of small lights.” Under the tower was the entrance from the cloister, apparently by a flight of steps under an arch now entirely destroyed. The tower, and two bays beyond it, to the north, formed a sort of vestibule to the Chapel. This vestibule was reached from the domestic buildings by a winding staircase at the north-west angle, the turret of which rises some little way above the wall, and supplied a means of access to a flat-roofed chamber above the vestibule of the Chapel. This chamber had an external window, besides one looking into the Chapel, an arrangement which, as Mr. Freeman suggests, resembles that of the infirmary at St.

Cross, near Winchester. The fact that the vestibule could only be approached by this winding staircase, has given rise to the suggestion that the ruin beyond it may have been that of the Common hall, and not of the Chapel. The want of a more imposing entrance is of course a great defect; but there cannot be the smallest doubt that this was really the Chapel.

The tower, which is very plain, was designed to have a spire, as is evident by the squinches visible at the top of the interior. It now ends with a cornice, from which project figures of angels. The buttress, which is built against its south-west angle, seems to have been, at least in its upper portion, an after-thought, and was perhaps rendered necessary by some kind of settlement during the building of the tower. The Chapel itself is of four bays, three of which only have windows; since the easternmost bay was on the south side flanked by a sacristy, and on the north contained the vast structure of the founder's tomb. The westernmost bay, and one half of the bay beyond it, formed an ante-chapel; they were divided from the space eastward by a screen, probably of no great height. There was no west window—a defect nearly as great as the want of a fitting entrance. Some portion of the domestic buildings was reared against the west wall of the tower, in such a way as to render any window opening impossible. The sacristy, with a chamber over it, was entered from the eastern bay of the Chapel. It contains a piscina, and stood over the eastern side of the cloister.

On the north side of the Chapel were the domestic buildings of the College. Each member had a private house, ranged round three sides of a small quadrangle open to the north. The gateway, on the north side, a single, plain, four-centred arch, remains. Of the houses, the vaults alone on which they stood are in existence.

In addition to this College, Bishop Houghton was the founder of the Cathedral School, and the endowment of the choristers is due to him. The school still exists. It is one of the most ancient scholastic foundations in this country. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the younger priest vicars, as well as the lay vicars and choristers, were ordered to attend it,—an indication that the learning of the vicars of St. David's at that time was not very remarkable. Where this school was at first held does not appear. About the year 1557 a "school-house" was built over an edifice adjoining the west side of the churchyard wall, which had served as a work house for the repairs of the church. Here the school was held until 1791, when the room was altered by Nash into a Chapter-house, and the school was removed to the ancient Chapter-house over St. Thomas's Chapel. It remained there until the beginning of the late restoration. Nash's Chapter-house was taken down in 1829.

On the sloping ground north of St. Mary's College stood the College of the Vicars Choral, who were first placed in a common dwelling by Bishop Beck

(1280-1293). Scarcely a fragment of the buildings remains.

The Cathedral, the Chapel of St. Mary's College, and the Cloisters, stand within the ancient cemetery, which extends from the Tower Gate to the Alan. Its limits and enclosing walls must not be confounded with those of the Great Close, to be hereafter (§ XXVI.) described.

XXV. On the right bank of the Alan, opposite the Cathedral, and grouping with it from almost every point of view, are the ruins of the magnificent episcopal *Palace*, the work of Bishop Gower (1328-1347), and dating apparently from about the year 1342. It was therefore one of the later works of Gower, who, as we have seen, made very considerable changes in his Cathedral; and who, from his great love of building, from the splendid scale of his designs, and possibly as the inventor of what was, at least in this part of the kingdom, a new and distinct architectural style, is entitled to rank with these great builders who belong to the latter half of the century—Archbishop Thoresby, at York, and William of Wykeham, at Winchester. Gower has, indeed, if we except the palace at St. David's, left nothing which can excite wonder and admiration so deeply as the works of those prelates in their respective Cathedrals. But his style is marked by strong and individual peculiarities. His buildings are "most eminently neither Early English nor Perpendicular; not only is their actual detail quite distinct

from both, but there is not the slightest approach to the character of either ; we miss alike the distinctness of the one and the continuity of the other.”^p The details are not always pleasing. His ornament is always singularly flat, and his mouldings unvaried. Yet in the arrangement of great architectural masses, such as this of the palace, in the great variety of his outlines, and in the resolute breaking away from the older architectural traditions, he displays an amount of power and originality which entitle him to great distinction. He was at any rate the introducer of a true Decorated style in his own Diocese. To him, or to the school which he founded, must be ascribed the Episcopal palace at Lamphey, near Pembroke, the chancel of Swansea Church, Swansea Castle, Carew Church, and some portions of the Churches of Hodgston and Monkton. In all these buildings his peculiar style is to be distinctly traced. This, as has been said, is characterized by a great variety of general outline, and by a flatness in all the details. The shafts are generally octagonal, the capitals hardly project from them, and, of all Gower's ornaments, the favourite is a four-leaved flower, not rising at all above the surface, and laid in somewhat shallow mouldings.

The Palace of St. David's, ruined as it is, is an admirable example of architectural arrangement. In form it is quadrangular, “but it is so broken up by numerous projections, some at right angles to the main fabric, others assuming the form as it were of

^p Jones and Freeman, p. 204.

aisles, that the monotony of the square form is altogether lost, and a most varied and picturesque effect produced."^a In the present condition of the building the first point which attracts attention is the very remarkable parapet which extends round nearly every part of the ruins. A series of open arches rest on octagonal shafts springing from corbels. Over the arcade is a corbel table, and above, again, a battlement with very narrow embrasures and loopholes. The battlement has almost entirely disappeared. The open arcade remains nearly perfect. The shaft capitals and corbels are much varied; and in some parts of the building small square stones of different colours were used with very good effect. This parapet is one of Gower's most marked peculiarities. It occurs at Swansea Castle, and in the palace of Lamphey. Fine and striking as it now is, cresting the long lines of ruined wall, it is possible that when the building was perfect the effect was not so good. The parapet was of most unusual height, and must have greatly hidden, without any apparent object, the steep roofs which rose within it. Neither roof nor parapet thus received full justice.^r

An indifferent gateway on the north side of the quadrangle formed the chief entrance to the palace. Adjoining it, in the north-east angle, is a small building, projecting from the main body, which has been looked upon as a small Chapel, but which it is difficult to appropriate satisfactorily. It seems uncertain

^a Jones and Freeman, p. 191.

^r Id., p. 192.

whether any other buildings existed at any time against the north side. This now retains only the wall of enclosure. The west side has lost the greater part of its buildings; but here, at the farther end, is the principal Chapel of the palace, projecting westward from the Great Hall, which occupies the south side of the quadrangle. There is a porch on the north side of the Chapel; and at its north-west angle, supported on corbelled arches, is a small bell-turret, terminated by a broach-spire. "From this we may conceive the tower of St. Mary's College to have been probably imitated;"^s and if that tower still retained its spire, it would doubtless present an enlarged version of this turret. There was an east window; and besides the main porch, a portal opened to the Chapel from a room west of the Great Hall.

The Great Hall, on the south side, is, perhaps, the most striking portion of the ruin. It is entered at the eastern end through a porch rising to the full height of the building, and greatly enriched with ornament (*see Title page*). The arch of entrance is "of a singular and rare form, especially at so early a period; it is struck from six centres, but may be more intelligibly described as an ogee four-centered arch."^t The hall itself was of considerable size; but an apartment west of it, which was separated from it by a wall, now forms part of the same area, and increases the apparent extent. The whole is roofless, and the floor is now covered with the brightest greensward. There

^s Jones and Freeman, p. 192.

^t Id.

are side windows in the hall, and one in the room west of it, all of which were of two lights, with transoms; and at the east end is a circular window of great beauty, with the four-leaved flower, so frequent in Gower's work, ornamenting the outer moulding. Beneath this window a doorway led into a kind of external aisle. Staircase turrets flanked this eastern gable. The name of "King John's Hall" is popularly given to this stately apartment, but for what reason is unknown. It is of course of much more recent date than the reign of the English King; and King John of France, the captive of the Black Prince, was not brought to England until long after the death of Gower, and had no connection with St. David's.

The east side of the quadrangle contained the chief domestic apartments, having in the centre a smaller hall, generally known as the "Bishop's Hall." There was a porch, of which the outer doorway resembles that at the north end of the rood screen in the Cathedral. In the east side of the hall is a chimney. Two rooms adjoin the hall; and at the south end of this side, between it and the great hall, is the kitchen, a vaulted apartment. At this end of the east side there is, both internally and externally, a sort of aisle raised against the main body of building. All the buildings throughout the palace are raised on a series of vaults—a necessary precaution against the damp of the river valley. Some of these vaults appear to have served as lodging-places for members of the household, and in that under the great Chapel there are traces of a fireplace.

This vast and stately palace well illustrates the architectural magnificence of the time at which it was built. The first half of the reign of Edward III. was a period especially distinguished by great show and splendour, and the builders of the age kept steady pace with it. This, too, as we know from coins which have been found from time to time at St. David's, was the century during which the shrine of the great Welsh saint was held in the highest honour and was most frequented by pilgrims. The Bishop of St. David's, whose See was then regarded as one of very great dignity, thus raised for himself a palace in which pilgrims of the highest rank might be fittingly received, and which would serve as no unbecoming hostel for the sovereign himself on his way to or from Ireland. The especial merit of the palace is, however, its strictly domestic character. Unlike the remains at Llandaff, these are not the ruins of a castle, but of an abode "of hospitality and religion."^u

^u "It is hardly necessary to say that many Churches, even of inferior ecclesiastical rank, greatly surpass St. David's Cathedral in extent and in positive beauty, though certainly there is none which could so well occupy its peculiar position; of the palace, on the other hand, it is hardly too much to affirm that it is altogether unsurpassed by any existing English edifice of its own kind. One can hardly conceive any structure that more completely proclaims its peculiar purpose; it is essentially a palace, and not a castle; we have not here the moat, the tower, the frowning gateway, or any feature proclaiming, if not an intention of hostility, at all events a state of things involving the necessity of defence: the prominent points are the superb rose window of the hall, and the graceful spire of the chapel, importing an abode, not of warfare, but of hospitality and religion."—Jones and Freeman, p. 189.

The palace is well seen from the ferny bank which rises above it on the west. The best remaining fragment of the battlement, with its variegated stone work, is near the south-east corner.

XXVI. The Cathedral, the Palace, St. Mary's College, and the houses of the Canons and other officers of the Church, were surrounded by a massive *close wall*, which has generally been regarded as part of Gower's work. This wall followed a very irregular course, and although this may still be traced, only a small part of the wall, south-west of the Cathedral, remains perfect. There were four gates facing the cardinal points, and known as the Tower Gate, Boning's Gate, Porth Gwyn, or the White Gate, and Porth Padrig, or St. Patrick's Gate. Of these the only one that remains is the *Tower Gate* at the eastern side of the churchyard. This is a very imposing structure, the gateway being flanked on the north by an octagonal tower, on the south by a semi-circular one, which is also octagonal within. Both are now roofless. The octagonal tower is of earlier date than the gateway, which was built up against it, or than the semi-circular tower which was built together with the gateway. It contains two stories, the lower of which may have been vaulted ; the upper is approached by a winding staircase. This upper story is lighted by four lancets, the lower by two. The doorway is in the face nearly fronting the Cathedral. The architectural character of this tower is exceedingly good, and it has been suggested, with much probability, that it

was at first designed as a detached campanile. Such a bell tower existed at Llandaff; and the style of this tower at St. David's "fixes it to the period when the Church would seem to have had no tower at all capable of holding bells, namely, between the fall of the original tower of de Leia—probably after all, itself a mere lantern—and the Decorated stage added in Gower's time." ^x

The little river Alan is crossed by two or more bridges within the walls of the close. These bridges are all ancient and interesting. The most remarkable is that near the west front of the Cathedral. This bridge replaced a stone known as the Llechllafar, or "speaking stone," described by Giraldus as a slab of marble polished by the feet of wayfarers. It was not lawful to carry a dead body into the cemetery across this stone, which, when that indignity was on one occasion offered to it, lifted its voice in remonstrance, and split with the effort. A prophecy of Merlin foretold that a King of England, on his return from the conquest of Ireland, should die on this stone, wounded by a red-haired man. The prediction was applied to Henry II. by a woman whose petition the King had rejected. But before setting foot on the stone, Henry addressed it solemnly, and passed over unharmed, to make his offerings before the shrine of St. David.

The prebendal houses, which extend up the valley on the right bank of the Alan, are almost entirely

^x Jones and Freeman, p. 212.

modern. They are within the limits of the Close, and occupy the sites of the more ancient dwellings. The present Deanery, on the hill south of the Cathedral, represents the old Precentory.

XXVII. The best points of view from which the whole group of buildings is commanded, have already (§ XXI. and § XXII.) been noticed. They are, the gate in the road called the "Popples,"^y opening on the steps which descend into the cemetery, a little west of the Tower Gate, and the hill side north-east of the Cathedral, between it and the "City." The great peculiarity of both these views is the wild background in which they are set. The distant crags of Carn Llidi and Penbery are seen across a stretch of bare, treeless country, contrasting strongly with the green valley of the Alan, and the presence of an architectural group of such extent and magnificence. The longer the buildings of St. David's are studied the more wonder is felt that such a display of the highest art, attended by so great cost and labour, should be found in a position so remote and so solitary. Even the "City" of St. David's is little, if at all, in sight from these points.

This "Dinas," or city, occupies the crest of the hill before it begins to slope itself steeply toward the Alan. There is a restored cross in the centre of an open place in the town, before which all coffins were for-

^y From the pebble-stones (*papol-popol*, A.S. = a pebble) with which it is paved. The word is commonly used in Devonshire.

merly rested for some time on their way to the cemetery below.

XXVIII. Many *detached Chapels* existed in the parish of St. David's, chiefly near the sea-coast. Offerings were made at them by pilgrims, and by sailors; and to such an extent that, as it is asserted, the money "was brought on Saturdays to the Chapter-house, and there divided by dishfuls, the quantity not allowing them leisure to tell it."² The offerings may have been generally made in coins of the smallest value; but it is hardly possible to accept such a statement literally, although the sums received at these Chapels were, as we learn from other sources, very considerable. The most perfect remaining Chapel is that of St. Justinian, or "Capel Stinan," on the cliffs immediately opposite the Isle of Ramsey (For the legend of St. Justinian see Part II.). It is an oblong, measuring about forty feet by seventeen and a half, and is now roofless. The present structure, which may well have replaced an older one, is attributed to Bishop Vaughan.

Of greater interest is the ruined Chapel of St. Non, the mother of St. David. This, according to the legend (for which see Part II.), was raised on the spot where the great saint was born. In form it resembles Capel Stinan; but the lower part of the walls is built of enormous blocks of stone, and may be of great antiquity, and the oblong ground plan recalls that of the early Irish oratories. This Chapel stands on the slope of a green combe, a little above the edge of the

² Browne Willis.

cliffs that stretch northward from Caerfai. Beneath the altar, as we learn from Rhyddmarch's life of St. David, was part of a stone which leaped from the head of St. Non to her feet at the birth of David. A few yards distant is St. Non's well, covered with a plain barrel vault, which was restored during the last century. At the side is a square recess, in which may have been deposited such offerings of "pins and pebbles" as were formerly made. The water is still held to be of great virtue in the cure of various diseases. Another well, near the mouth of the Alan, was protected by a Chapel, and the spring which supplies it burst from the ground, according to the legend, to supply water for the baptism of St. David.

Another Chapel deserves mention here, although all trace of it has disappeared. It stood on the road to Fishguard, and was called "Capel-y-Gwrhyd," the "Chapel of the Fathom." On an arch here was shown "St. David's Fathom," measuring about three yards and a half, and looked upon as the length of the Saint's expanded arms. Saints, like heroes of romance, become giants in some forms of popular tradition.

APPENDIX TO PART I.

§ VIII.

MR. SCOTT'S description of the restoration of the Tower is as follows. At the time it was written, the shoring had not been removed. This has now been the case for several years, and the piers sustain their weight perfectly :—

“The object to be aimed at was little, if anything, less than the rebuilding from their foundation of two of the four piers which sustained the tower, each of them bearing a load of 1150 tons, which had to be supported by timber shoring during the operation.

“Our first work, however, was to take measures for binding together, and otherwise strengthening the tower itself, so as to avoid the danger of its becoming fractured, or otherwise injured, during the reconstruction of its supporting piers ; and this was rendered the more necessary by the disintegrated state of the lower walls immediately resting on the arches, and the enormous cracks by which the north and south walls were rent throughout their entire height. This object was attained by the introduction of permanent iron ties of great strength, at several different levels, binding all the walls together ; by the use of temporary girdles of massive timber-work round the exterior of the tower, throughout the greater part of its height ; and by repairing with new stone and strong cement many parts of the disintegrated walls.

“The shoring by which the weight of the western half of the tower has been temporarily supported, is of three descriptions—first, direct supports under the western, northern, and southern arches (the two former consisting of timber framing, and the latter being provided by an old stone wall by which the arch was blocked) ; secondly vertical shores of immense

strength, supporting 'needles' or horizontal masses of timber, passing through the walls; and thirdly, by 'raking' or inclined shores abutting against the walls in all directions, and both supporting weight and preventing lateral motion. All these had to be provided with firm foundations, having to bear the actual weight of the tower. The magnitude of the work may be judged of when I mention that, of the six main supports of the 'needles' two consisted of *nine* and the others of *six* full-sized balks of timber, bound together into one mass by irons and thus making timber supports, the first 3 feet 6 inches square, and the others 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 4 inches in thickness, and all of them 36 feet in length. The 'needles' are of oak, 2 feet 4 inches deep and 2 feet 4 inches thick, and shod with wrought iron. The raking shores are arranged in systematic groups, giving supports at all heights, from immediately over the piers to nearly the top of the tower. The shoring has required the use of nearly 12,000 cubic feet of timber.

"The state of the west wall of the tower was rendered alarmingly apparent by the difficulties encountered in making the holes for the 'needles.' Mr. Clear, the clerk of the works, and myself, foreseeing some difficulty, arranged a plan by which, before cutting through the wall, a sort of tunnel of strong stone should be formed through it by inserting the stones, one at a time, in the shattered rubble-work, and then removing the enclosed wall. This was done, with some difficulty, to a depth of 2 feet from either side; but as the wall is 6 feet thick, there remained 2 feet in the middle untunnelled; and when the enclosed wall was attempted to be removed, the middle mass began to pour out like an avalanche, which was only stopped by the immediate insertion of sand-bags, and by subsequently running the wall from above with liquid cement, and thus solidifying the disintegrated rubbish.

"These systems of supports having been completed, the actual operations commenced; and for this another, and less permanent, system of shoring was requisite. If the main shoring may be compared to the solid masses of an army,

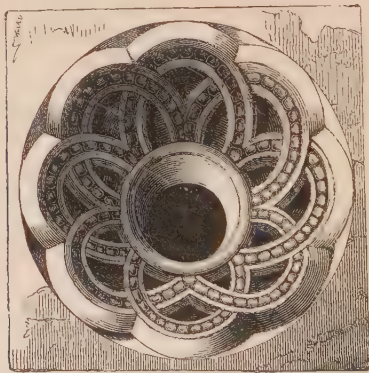
those I am now speaking of may be viewed as the *skirmishers*. They consist of needles and props inserted immediately above the part to be operated on, and supporting a portion of the shattered pier while that below it was renewed; and as soon as this was effected, a new needle was inserted above the first one, to make way for the renewal of another batch; each lower needle being in its turn removed, when that above it was secured. Besides this, however, endless extemporized precautions had at every hour to be taken, to provide against contingencies which were ever arising; blocks of timber inserted under stones threatening to fall; struts and shields against masses in danger of bursting; sand-bags &c., against the rushing out of the avalanches of rubbish; temporarily running together with liquid cement of parts which, though eventually to be removed had not yet been reached, and threatened, if not consolidated, to bury the workmen in their ruins. All these and many more precautions, had to be taken to meet the exigencies of every day and every hour; and when it is considered that each pier took months to reinstate; that these dangerous operations could not, in many cases, be suspended day or night, and that the clerk of the works would never leave the spot while any dangerous work was pending, you may judge of the wearing anxiety which he and others engaged in the work have undergone.

“By the process I have thus briefly sketched, the entire piers, excepting a small central portion, have been rebuilt from their foundations to their capitals; the new stonework having to be inserted a little at a time, has been aided in all cases by strong copper cramps, so as to tie its courses together in their circuit round the pier. All the stones are laid in strong cement, and all that remains within of the old work is run together at each course with liquid cement till it will hold no more. I saw myself ten pailsful of this material poured into a single hole.

“The stone made use of is the purple stone of the neighbouring cliffs, and closely resembles the old stone, though somewhat harder, and is worked in a similar manner. Any

old stones which were unshattered, (of which I regret to say that but very few were found) have been re-used.

"I had hoped that the southern pier, which was the second operated upon, would have proved less dangerous than the northern one, but on a close examination of it I found that it was fully as much shattered as the other had been, and in point of fact was ready to burst at the middle of its height. The clerk of the works, when he reached this point, told me that a cat could walk in and out the cracks which intersected the pier."—*Second Report on the state of the Fabric of St. David's Cathedral, 1869.*



Sculpture in the head of Triforium Arches. St. David's.

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.



PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the Principal Bishops.

THE see of Menevia or St. David's, the most important and the most famous of the four Welsh sees, was founded, like the others, toward the end of the 6th century. The diocese was conterminous with the principality of Dyfed—the boundaries of which varied at different times, but always included the whole of what is now Pembrokeshire. *Dyfed* retains the name of the *Demetæ*, the Cymric inhabitants of the district in the days of Ptolemy.

The foundation of the see is assigned to St. David, who, according to an ancient tradition, is said to have removed to this place the see of Caerleon, in which the same tradition represents him as having succeeded Dubricius. Caerleon, it is said, was too closely peopled, and was too dangerously near the heathen English. Menevia was, or seemed to be, far removed from the tumults of the world, and the site was well fitted for prayer and contemplation. It is possible that this tradition may record a truth; and it is certain that the see of Caerleon became extinct about the time at which St. David's was founded. (See the general Introduction to this volume, § iii.) But the existing lives of St. David are too legendary, and the notices of him in authentic chronicles and records are too scanty,

to allow of any certainty as to the circumstances under which the see of Menevia was founded.

The earliest existing life of St. David (*Dewi* is his Welsh name) is by Ricemarch or Rhyddmarch, bishop of the see between 1088 and 1096. This was re-written 'scholastico stilo' by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the 12th century. There is also a life in Welsh, known as the 'Buchedd Dewi Sant.' But this, and others, such as the abridgement in Capgrave, are all founded on Ricemarch's 'Vita';^a and all therefore that we can gather from these lives is what was believed at St. David's about the great patron saint of Wales at the end of the 11th century. This is not history, although much historical truth is no doubt mingled with the legend, which runs as follows:—

Sandde, son or grandson of Ceredig, the prince who gave his name to the province of Ceredigion or Cardigan, was a mighty hunter, who once hunting in Dewisland (the district which surrounds St. David's) fell in with Non or Nonna, daughter of Gynyr of Caer Gawch. The result of this accidental meeting was the birth of St. David. Long before Sandde met Non, however, St. Patrick, returning to Britain from Rome, thought to establish himself in a remote valley of Dewisland, near the shore of Whitesand Bay.^b But he was warned in vision to quit the

^a Ricemarch's life is printed in the 'Lives of the Cambro-British Saints,' and in 'Acta Sanctorum,' March 1. The 'Buchedd Dewi Sant' will also be found in the 'Lives of the Cambro-Brit. Saints.' The life by Giraldus is in the third volume of his 'Opera,' (Master of the Rolls' Series) p. 377.

^b A chapel dedicated to St. Patrick was afterwards built here; and the foundations of a small building are still visible in the middle of a field at the northern end of Whitesand Bay, at the commencement of the ascent to Carn Llidi. These foundations are said to be those of the chapel, which was destroyed before the end of the sixteenth century. A place called St. Patrick's seat was shown at an early period as that from which the saint

place, which was destined for another; and being told that the field of his labour was to be a great island beyond the sea, at once the whole of Ireland was unrolled before him. St. Patrick obeyed and departed.

The great Doctor St. Gildas, preaching at Caermorfa (a town which stood also on Whitesand Bay), in the presence of Nonna, became dumb before the unborn saint, "a greater than he." A neighbouring chieftain, who foresaw his future power and greatness, attempted to destroy his mother; but a terrible thunderstorm prevented his design, and in the midst of the tempest St. David was born at a spot above the cliffs of St. Bride's Bay, where a well and the ruins of a chapel dedicated to his mother still remain.^c The future saint was baptized by a bishop named Elvi at Porth-claes, where the Alan rivulet meets the sea. A spring was miraculously produced for the purpose; and a blind man who held David in the water received his sight.^d The holy David "David Agius"—as Ricemarch calls him—was brought up at Hen Mynyw—Old Menevia—a place which seems to be identical with Caermorfa. Here he received holy orders; and then placed himself under the care of Paulinus, a pupil of Germanus, and one of the great teachers of the age, at Whitland in Caermarthenshire.^e

beheld the whole of Ireland in vision. It may have been (but this is not certain) on the same site as this chapel.

^c This chapel is described in Part i. § 28.

^d See Part i. § 28.

^e Paulinus is said to have been a bishop, but without a see; and according to Ricemarch was present at the synod of Llanddewi Brefi. No legend of his life is extant: but a stone found at Pant y Polion, Caio, near Llanddewi-Brefi, has the following inscription, which seems to prove, at any rate, the existence of such a person:—

"Seruatur (sic) Fidæi Patrieque semper Amator

Hic Paulinus jacet cultor pientissimus (sic) Aequi."

This stone is now at Dolau Cothi, the house of J. Jones, Esq.

After twelve years of study he began to preach; and wandering through the country, founded twelve monasteries in various parts of Britain.^f

When St. David at length returned to Hen Mynyw he found his cousin (or his uncle, according to Giraldus) Gweslan, residing there as bishop. He settled himself in Glyn Rhosyn—"Vallis Rosina"—also called Hodnant,^g both of which were names given to the lower valley of the Alan, in which the Cathedral of St. David's now stands. Here many disciples joined him, among whom were St. Teilo, the patron of Llandaff (see that Cathedral, Part II.); St. Aidan, afterwards Bishop of Ferns, in Ireland; and St. Ishmael. In building his monastery he was greatly hindered by a certain chief and sorcerer named Boia, the site of whose "castle" is still pointed out at no great distance from the valley.^h But St. David was protected by heaven. The wife of Boia, who had especially persecuted him, became mad. The castle was destroyed by lightning; and Boia himself was defeated and killed by a chieftain called Leschi.ⁱ

Thus the land was freed from enemies, and the monastery flourished exceedingly. The lives of nearly all the Welsh saints of this period connect them with it. Many Irish saints—among whom were Brendan, Barroc, and Modom-

^f Among them were Glastonbury and Bath, Glascwm in Radnorshire, Repton, Leominster, and Raglan, and Llangyfelach in Gower.

^g The name of Glyn Rhosyn = the vale of roses, has arisen from a confusion between *Rhos* = a moor and *Rhosyn* = a rose. Hodnant is translated 'vallis prospera.'

^h It is on the summit of a rock named "Clegyr-Foia" = Boia's Rock, between St. David's and the sea. Local tradition goes on to assert that a smaller "strength," overlooking the valley of the Alan, and much nearer St. David's, was constructed by the saint for the protection of his "family," as the inmates and dependents of a religious house were then called collectively.

ⁱ An inlet on the coast still preserves the name of Leschi.

nach—were attracted to it. St. Finian of Clonard “oidhe” or “foster-father of the saints of Ireland,” as he is called, himself the master of a famous school which produced three thousand disciples, had sat at the feet of St. David; as had St. Bar of Cork. It is to St. David also, according to Ricemarch, that Ireland is indebted for her bees. Modomnach passed from Glyn Rosyn to Ireland, “and a large swarm of bees followed him and settled on the prow of the ship where he sat.” They accompanied him, and supplied him with honey during his Irish mission; but “not desiring to enjoy their company by fraud,” he brought them back to Wales, when “they fled to their usual place, and David blessed Modomnach for his humility.” Three times the bees went and returned with Modomnach, “and the third time holy David dismissed Modomnach with the bees and blessed them,” saying that henceforth bees should prosper in Ireland, but that they should no longer increase in Glyn Rosyn.

Besides numerous Irish, it is asserted that Constantine, Prince of Dyfnaint or Damnonia, left his kingdom about the year 589 to enter the monastery of St. David. Constantine or “Cystennyn,” whose name recalls the great Emperor whom Britain claimed as her own son, was the “tyrannic whelp of the unclean Damnonian lioness,” apostrophised with other chieftains of Britain by Gildas in his well-known epistle.* The rule of life in the monastery is described by Ricemarch, and is summed up by Giraldus under the heads of labour, reading, prayer, and works of charity. It was no doubt of the same character as the religious houses founded by St. Martin in Gaul in the 5th century (the first in Western Europe), and as those of the

* “Immundæ lænæ Dannoniæ tyrannicus catulus Constantinus.” The “*Conversio Constantini ad Dominum*” is recorded in the ‘*Annales Cambriæ*.’ There is a life of St. Constantine in the Aberdeen Breviary.

same type established in Ireland by St. Patrick (who was probably the nephew and disciple of St. Martin) and his successors before the year 500. The "College" of St. Paulinus at Whitchurch must have been of the same type; as was the famous monastery of Bangor Iscoed, in the valley of the Dee, the inmates of which were slaughtered by Ethelfrith of Northumbria before his attack on Chester in 613. The vast numbers of the Cœnobites (it does not appear that they called themselves monks, or that they were bound by any distinct vows) who are said to have assembled in these "great choirs" (ban-chor, = the "chief choir" was a general name) must be received with hesitation; but it is certain that they attracted large bodies of students.¹

¹ The description given by Sulpicius Severus, of the monastery established by St. Martin near Tours, is worth inserting here, since that monastery certainly supplied the type on which the Irish and Welsh "choirs" were founded. Sulpicius, it must be remembered, was the contemporary of St. Martin: — "*Aliquamdiu ergo adhærente ad ecclesiam cellula usus est; deinde cum inquietudinem frequentantium ferre non posset, duobus fere extra civitatem milibus monasterium sibi statuit. Qui locus tam secretus et remotus erat, ut eremi solitudinem non desideraret. Ex uno enim latere, præcisa montis excelsa rupe ambiebatur: reliquam planiciem Liger fluvius reducto paullulum sinu clauserat; una tantum eademque arcta admodum via adiri poterat: ipse ex lignis contextam cellulam habebat. Multi quidem e fratribus in eundem modum, plerique saxo superjecti montis cavato, receptacula sibi fecerant. Discipuli vero octoginta erant, qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur. Nemo ibi quidquam habebat: omnia in medio conferebantur. Non emere aut vendere (ut plerisque monachis moris est) quidquam licebat. Ars ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur; cui tamen operi minor ætas deputabatur; majores orationi vacabant. Rarus cuiquam extra cellulam fuit egressus, nisi cum ad locum orationis conveniebant. Cibum una omnes post horam jejunii accipiebant. Vinum nemo*

The lives of St. David are of course filled with miraculous "signs and wonders" worked by the saint. On two occasions a spring of pure water gushed forth at his prayer,—one at the east end of the existing Cathedral, and one at Brawdy, some miles distant. An angel completed the manuscript of St. John's Gospel, which the saint was transcribing, and which he left on being called to prayer. A loaded wain and oxen, which had fallen over the precipitous side of the Solva valley, were stopped by the sign of the cross made by St. David; and he took poisoned food without injury. When at last it was fit that he should be consecrated bishop, he was divinely ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. With him went Teilo and Paternus, founder of the see of Llanbadarn, afterwards merged in that of St. David's. St. David was consecrated by the Patriarch; and the three saints returned to Britain with many gifts and with much rejoicing. St. David, as bishop, was present at the synod of Llandewi-Brefi, assembled to confute the Pelagian heretics; and there appeared Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, who was anxious to resign his office. St. David preached to the assembled multitude; and as he spoke the ground rose under him, so as to raise him above the heads of the listeners. A snow-white dove, also, alighted on his shoulder. He was chosen to be the successor of Dubricius by universal acclamation. A second synod, called the "Synodus Victoriæ," was then held at Caerleon. How long St. David survived his elevation we are not informed. His death was foretold by angels and by himself; and full of years,—he had attained the patriarchal age of 147,—he fell asleep on the Calends of March, after singing the "Nunc Dimittis."

It would be impossible to extract the truth from this

noverat, nisi quem infirmitas coegisset. Plerique camelorum setis vestiebantur. Mollior ibi habitus pro crimine erat." S. Severus, 'Vita B. Martini,' § vii.

mass of legend. Many of the incidents are unusually grotesque; and the belief of Ricemarch's time seems to have formed itself in accordance with a certain common tradition found running through the written lives of most Welsh saints.^m But from other sources we gain some facts relating to St. David, which may be accepted as authentic. The 'Annales Cambriæ' refer the death of "David Episcopus" to the year 601.ⁿ The same authority makes the date of the second synod—the "Synodus Victoriæ"—to be 569; and certain documents preserved in the north of France (obviously through Brittany) seem to be penitentiary canons decreed at the two synods, and suggesting a different purpose for them than the suppression of Pelagianism.^o The connection of St. David with Ireland is also indicated by sufficient evidence, and the assertion that the so-called "second order" of Irish saints received their canon of the mass from David, Cadoc, and Gildas, may be accepted as proved.^p This "second order" had no connection with Armagh or with the institutions of St. Patrick. To it

^m "The Saint is the son of a local prince or chieftain. His origin is rather scandalous. His birth is accompanied by signs and wonders. He is placed under the immediate instruction of a noted saint, and connected through him with Germanus and Lupus. Several of the most celebrated centres of Christianity are the work of his hand. Several of the most celebrated propagators of the faith are his own scholars. From his birth to his death he is associated with great names. A worldly antagonist, a moral antithesis, a Pharaoh, is raised up for him to chastise and to destroy, and the Divine vengeance is made manifest." Jones and Freeman, p. 250. Each of these points is illustrated by references to the legends of various Welsh saints.

ⁿ "David Episcopus Moni Judæorum." Moni is Hen Meneu. The "Judæorum" is altogether inexplicable.

^o These penitentiaries will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, 'Documents and Councils,' i. pp. 117-120.

^p See the evidence in Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 115.

belonged St. Columba and the numerous Irish missionaries who spread themselves throughout Europe from the end of the sixth century to that of the eighth. From St. Columba and Iona came those first bishops of Northumbria who restored the faith in that English kingdom after the departure (A.D. 633) of Paulinus and the extinction of the Christianity introduced by him. We may thus recognize the direct influence of the Welsh Church and especially of St. David, not only in Ireland but throughout Scotland and Northern England. In Wales itself, a triad—possibly of earlier date than Ricemarch's life—classed St. David with Padarn and Teilo as the "three blessed visitors of the Isle of Britain." "They were so called because they went as guests to the houses of the noble, the poor, the native, and the stranger, without accepting fee or reward, victuals or drink; but what they did was to teach the faith in Christ to everyone without pay or thanks; besides which they gave to the poor and needy gifts of their gold and silver, their raiment and provisions." St. David is the one Welsh saint formally enrolled in the Western Calendars, and even he was not admitted until his canonization in A.D. 1120.

The country about St. David's is, as we have seen, full of localities to which various incidents in the life of the saint are referred. This, it is barely possible, may indicate that, as the life asserts, he was a native of the district; but is certainly no proof of it. The incidents may, as is so often the case, have been fitted to the localities. Dewisland—the land of David—as the hundred is still called, seems to have been the patrimony of the Church from a very early period. It was indeed, when St. David first planted his monastery, remote from the "heathen English," who had then advanced as far as the Severn; but its wide sea-coast afforded ready access to Ireland, to the "West Welsh" of Damnonia, and to the Armoricans of Britanny, with whom the Cymry of what is now the Principality kept up much intercourse. A Roman road, the Via Julia, ex-

tended along the southern coast from the neighbourhood of Bristol to that of Caermarthen, and possibly as far as St. David's. But no Roman remains have been found at St. David's, and although Richard of Cirencester places on the coast there a city, called "Menapia," his unsupported statement carries with it no authority. The wild and secluded country—secluded, yet with facilities for intercourse with friendly and cognate races—was no doubt the inducement which led St. David to found his monastery and his "bishop-stool" in the valley of the Alan. With the exception of the Land's End, St. David's Head, the Octopitarum of Ptolemy, is the most westerly headland of Great Britain. It is the point at which the British coast approaches most nearly to that of Ireland, and the outlines of the Wicklow hills are occasionally seen across the Channel, here not quite fifty miles in breadth. The whole coast is guarded by lofty walls of rock, belonging to the so-called Cambrian series—the most ancient sedimentary rocks known to geologists. The surface formed by these rocks is comparatively level; but over the district, sometimes parallel with the coast, yet extending far inland, masses of igneous rock, greenstones and porphyries, have broken upwards and form rocky eminences, of no very great height, but occasionally, as in Carn Llidi, of the grandest and boldest outline. The open country is intersected by deep valleys, through which streamlets find their way to the sea, the most important of which are the Solva and the Alan. The latter is the river on which stands the Cathedral of St. David's. Off the coast lie numerous rocky islands, the largest of which is Ramsey, famous for its seals and its seabirds. The climate is unusually mild—the air soft, pure, and bracing—facts which cannot have been without their influence on the early settlement of the coast, or on St. David's choice of the place for his monastery.

Nearly all the local sites connected with St. David have already been mentioned. Capel Stinan = Justinian's

Chapel, also deserves notice. The walls—of perpendicular date and of plain architecture—are standing on the verge of the cliffs looking across the Sound of Ramsey (see Part I., § xxviii.). St. Justinian, according to his legend, was an Armorican, who established himself as a hermit on Ramsey, and became St. David's confessor. His servants killed him, were struck with leprosy, and spent the rest of their days in penitence on a rock, called the "Leper's Rock," in the Sound. The body of Justinian walked across the Sound, and landing at Porth Stinan, was buried where the chapel now stands. Pilgrims who approached St. David's from the North made their first offerings at the Chapel of the Fathom (Part I., § xxviii.).

From the death of St. David to the middle of the ninth century little or nothing is recorded of the see. The names of two bishops occur: *Sadwrffen*, who, according to the 'Annales Cambriæ,' died in 831, and *Novis*—uncle of Asser, the biographer of King Alfred and the Bishop of Sherborne—whose episcopate began in 840. The 'Annales' also record the destruction of the monastery in 645, when an invading army plundered Dyfed.^a Some time before the accession of Novis a change had taken place in the limits of Demetia or Dyfed, which was then only conterminous with the present Archdeaconry of St. David's. Its prince, Hyfeidd, plundered the Church and expelled the clergy. Among those driven out was Novis and his nephew Asser. The learning of the latter seems at this time to have reached the ears of King Alfred, whose patronage of Asser is a sufficient proof that the ancient zeal for letters had not as yet departed from St. David's. *Llunwerth*, the successor of Novis, is said to have been consecrated by Æthelred, Archbishop of Canterbury—an act which, repeated as it was on at least two subsequent occasions,

^a "A. 645. Percussio Demeticæ regionis, quando cœnobium David incensum est."

"appears to mark a complete though perhaps a temporary subjection on the part of the Church of St. David's; and it would seem to be connected with the submission of the South Welsh princes to the West Saxon monarch, and the desire of the Menevian clergy to enlist him on their side."^r

It is unnecessary to record here the few names of bishops that have been preserved—names alone, and accompanied by dates which are not always consistent, but which together are sufficient fairly to prove the continuous existence of the see from St. David's time. In the latter half of the tenth century the Northmen were constantly hovering round the coast, and St. David's was often plundered by them.^s In 999, during one of these assaults, Bishop *Morgeneu* was killed; a calamity which, according to a story told by Giraldus, happened to him because he had relaxed the ancient austerity of his predecessors, and had been in the habit of eating meat.^t The see and the monastery, however, survived these and later misfortunes, such as the destruction of 1011, when, whilst England was oppressed by the Danes, Eadric, Ealdorman of the Mercians, entered South Wales with an English army, and marching through the whole country, devastated Menevia.^u In 1071 *Sulien*, called in the 'Brut y Tywysogion' "the wisest of the

^r Jones and Freeman, p. 262.

^s "982. Gothrit et Haraldus vastaverunt Dewet et Meneviam."

"988. Gentiles vastaverunt Meneviam."

"993. Tertio Menevia vastata est."

"999. Menevia vastata est a Gentilibus, et Morgeneu, epis. ab eis occisus est."—"Annal. Cambriæ."

^t His spectre appeared to an Irish bishop, and told the story, saying, "quia carnes comedi, caro factus sum." Girald. 'Itin. Cambriæ,' ii. c. 1.

^u Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' i. p. 303. It is not certain for what reason this expedition was undertaken, but it is conjectured that "the wrath of the English over-lord was aroused by a refusal on the part of the Welsh princes to contribute to the Danegeld,"

Britons," became bishop. He was a native of Llanbadarn-fawr, and had passed many years in study in Scotland and Ireland. The year after his accession he resigned the see, and was succeeded by *Abraham*, who, 1078, was killed by the Northmen, once more plunderers of Menevia. Sulien resumed his "bishopstool;" and, probably in the year 1081, he received the Norman William, who, entering Wales no doubt as a conqueror, made his way to St. David's, and with perhaps a mixture of policy and devotion, offered at the shrine as a pilgrim.* Sulien died in 1088, and in the same year Menevia was plundered by "heathen"—Northmen or Irish Danes—and entirely destroyed.^y But the Church rose once more. Sulien had been a married clerk, and his son *Rhyddmarch*, or *Ricemarch*, the biographer of St. David, succeeded him. Rhyddmarch also was married. In his days, and in those of his father Sulien, the school of learning at St. David's was very famous, and seems to have been at least equal to that of the time of St. David. After Rhyddmarch, according to the Welsh annals, "instruction for scholars ceased at Menevia." His successor was a person variously named *Wilfrid*, *Griffri*, and *Geoffry*—all possibly English renderings of the Welsh *Gruffyd*. His episcopate was a stormy one, and he was compelled to grant away to Norman invaders part of the lordship of Dewisland, as well as more distant possessions. It may have been for his compliance in this matter that he was suspended and restored by Archbishop Anselm.^z On his death in 1115 the clerks of St. David's elected Daniel, another son of Bishop Sulien, to succeed him. But the see of St. David's could no longer be neglected by the Normans, who were now firmly established in the country. Foreign bishops had already been intruded on Bangor and Llandaff. Daniel was set aside and became Archdeacon of Powys,

* Freeman's 'Norman Conquest,' iv. p. 680.

^y "Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus." 'Ann. Cambr.'

^z Eadmer, ii. p. 33.

where he was celebrated as a peacemaker among the turbulent chieftains.^a

Thus, in the year 1115, ends the history of the purely British Church at St. David's. How far the cœnobitical or monastic system established by St. David had remained in force with the clerks and scholars of the church, remains uncertain. The story of Bishop Morgeneu indicates that the primitive austerity had at least been relaxed. Giraldus asserts that before the time of Bishop Bernard, the clerks of St. David's were not known as monks or as canons, but only as "Glaswyr," *i. e.* Eglwyswyr = Churchmen.

For the claim of St. David's to metropolitical authority in Wales, see the general Introduction to the present volume. The laws of Hywel Dda, set forth after the great convocation of Welsh notables at Whitland Abbey, during the episcopate of Lllunwerth, mention "seven Episcopal houses" in Dyfed, all of which were conventual establishments, but with respect to which it is uncertain whether they were ruled by abbots alone, or whether each house had its bishop, subordinate to the see of St. David's; which in the same laws is called the primatial see of Wales; whilst Lllunwerth is called an Archbishop. (See *Intro.*) How far the British Church of St. David's, before the accession of Bernard, was independent of the metropolitan see of Canterbury is not clear. It seems probable that it "possessed an irregular and precarious liberty, analogous to that which was held by the native princes in temporal matters—real, when nobody interfered with it, but shrinking into the very smallest dimensions on the approach of an aggressor."^b

^a Bishop Sulien and his sons are celebrated in a curious poem in Latin hexameters, subjoined to a MS. of St. Augustine 'de Trinitate,' written by Jevan or Sulien, one of the sons. (C. C. C. Library, Cambridge, No. 199.) The poem is printed at length in Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils,' vol. i. p. 663.

^b Jones and Freeman, p. 270.

[A.D. 1115—1147.] BERNARD, the first Norman bishop, had been the chaplain of “good queen Molde,” the wife of Henry I. He was, says Eadmer,^c “vir probus, et multorum iudicio sacerdotio dignus”—a man of brilliant talents and courtly manners, according to Giraldus. He left his Cathedral as he found it; but, instead of the ancient Welsh clergy (who may have continued up to this time, however imperfectly, the traditions of St. David’s “monastery”), he established a set of Canons (without a Dean), whose means of living were but small.^d Bishop Bernard was long in controversy with Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, respecting the limits of their respective dioceses—Urban claiming the entire region lying between the rivers Neath and Towy, with a portion of Brecknockshire. (For the whole question see the ‘Liber Landavensis.’) The disputed territory was finally adjudged by Pope Innocent II. to St. David’s, within which diocese it has ever since remained. Bernard also raised or revived a claim of metropolitan authority for his see (see Introduction to this volume), and, therefore, of its independence of Canterbury. The question remained unsettled at his death. The Canons then in Chapter elected a Welshman as his successor; but Archbishop Theobald set aside this election, and appointed

[A.D. 1148—1176] DAVID FITZGERALD, a personage of mixed race, the son of Gerald of Windsor, Castellan of Pembroke, and of Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Bishop David is said to have “impoverished his church” greatly; and

^c ‘Hist. Novor.’ v.

^d “Menevensem enim ecclesiam rudem hic (Bernardus) prorsus et inordinatam invenit. Clerici namque loci illius, qui *Glaswyr* [= Eglwys-wyr], id est Viri Ecclesiastici, vocabantur, barbaris ritibus absque ordine et regula Ecclesiæ bonis enormiter incumbabant. Canonicos hic igitur primus instituit, et canonicas quancquam miseras nimis et minutas, utpote plus militaris in multis quam clericalis existens, ordinavit.” *Giraldus Cambr.* ‘de Jure et statu Eccles. Menev.’

the Cathedral, according to his unknown biographer, was shut up during the greater part of his episcopate. In his time (1171—1172) Henry II. visited St. David's as a pilgrim, on his way to, and on his return from, Ireland. On the first occasion he offered "two choral copes of velvet, intended for the singers in serving God and St. David; and he also offered a handful of silver—about ten shillings." *

[A.D. 1176—1198.] PETER DE LEIA, Prior of Wenlock, succeeded. It is to him that, as we have seen (Part I.), the commencement of the existing Cathedral must be assigned.

Peter de Leia was, however, forced upon the Chapter of St. David's. The Chapter, without waiting for the King's Congé d'Eslire, nominated their own four archdeacons, desiring that the king should select one of them. But to this arrangement Henry II. would by no means consent. He ordered that the canons should be at once deprived of their revenues; and then, compelling them to appear before him at Winchester, he obliged them to receive as their bishop, Peter de Leia, the Cluniac Prior of Wenlock. He took the oath of obedience to Canterbury; and during his episcopate the claims of St. David's to be independent of the English Metropolitan were only kept alive by a protest made by the canons at the third Lateran Council in 1179. Bishop Peter was very unpopular, especially with the Welsh part of his flock; and he was compelled to pass the greater part of his time in England, the affairs of the diocese being administered by a series of officials. Yet it is certain that the Norman Cathedral was begun, and probably far advanced, during his episcopate.

Of the four archdeacons nominated by the Chapter, the first and the most prominent was Gerald de Barry—the famous and irrepressible Giraldus Cambrensis—youngest son of William de Barry, Lord of Manorbear, and Angharad

* ' Brut y Tywysogion.'

his wife, daughter of Gerald de Windsor. Gerald, "active, bustling, and forward, blessed with a considerable amount of superfluous energy, and restrained by no kind of modesty, but rather supported in his really very arduous undertakings by an overweening self-admiration,"^f had fully expected to have succeeded his uncle, David Fitzgerald, in the see of St. David's. On this he had set his heart; and, with the expectation of eventually gaining it, he refused several bishoprics in Ireland, whither he accompanied Prince John, son of Henry II., besides the Welsh sees of Bangor and Llandaff, both of which were offered to him. In 1187 he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, on his tour through Wales to preach the crusade; and his '*Itinerarium Kambriæ*' was the result of these labours. On the death of Peter de Leia the Chapter nominated four candidates, Gerald being again the first. But he had been an active supporter of the independence of St. David's, and Archbishop Hubert, of Canterbury, altogether refused to receive him as a candidate, and proposed two new ones—Geoffry de Henlawe, Prior of Llanthony, and a Cistercian monk named Alexander. But the Canons of St. David's refused either. After some further negotiations Gerald was chosen in full Chapter; and it was represented to him that he might seek consecration at the hands of the Pope—thus avoiding the oath of obedience to Canterbury. He was disposed to consent; when a royal mandate arrived, ordering the Canons to choose Geoffry de Henlawe. If they failed to do so, the Archbishop would dispense with the election, and proceed to consecrate him at once. The Chapter appealed to Rome, whither Gerald proceeded. This was the first of three journeys made by him to Rome, where the Pope long played with him, promising and withdrawing his support. The Canons of St. David's, too, would not maintain their first choice, and,

^f Jones and Freeman, '*Hist. of St. David's*,' p. 281.

during one of Gerald's long absences, made a fresh election in the person of the Abbot of St. Dogmaels. Both elections were at length quashed by the Pope; and in November, 1203 (five years after the death of Peter de Leia), the Chapter, meeting in St. Catherine's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, finally chose Geoffry de Henlawe. Gerald was weary of the struggle, and retired altogether from ecclesiastical affairs. He resigned his archdeaconry to his nephew, William de Barry, and thenceforth devoted himself entirely to literature. The year of his death is not certainly known, but it was probably 1219. The works of Gerald de Barry, who has been well called the Burnet of his age—brilliant, bustling, and somewhat unscrupulous where his adversaries were concerned—have been edited by Mr. Brewer, in the series of documents and chronicles published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

[A.D. 1203—1214.] Of GEOFFRY DE HENLAWE little is known but from the writings of Gerald—hardly to be trusted in this matter. He is described as a great oppressor of his clergy, as a great dilapidator, and as much involved in what appeared to be simony. At his death the Canons, who on the revocation of the Interdict of 1207 had, with the rest of the Cathedral Chapters, been guaranteed freedom of election, chose a Welshman.

[A.D. 1215—1229.] JORWERTH (called also GERVAS), Abbot of Talley, in Carmarthenshire. The earliest statutes extant for the government of the Cathedral belong to his episcopate. His three successors, like himself, were more or less connected with the country. They were—

[A.D. 1231—1247.] ANSELM, called LE GRAS, a near kinsman of William de la Grace, Earl of Pembroke, generally called William Marshall.

[A.D. 1248—1255.] THOMAS THE WELCHMAN (Wallensis); and

[A.D. 1256—1280.] RICHARD DE CAREW, consecrated at Rome, and perhaps of foreign extraction, but born most likely at

Carew in Pembrokeshire. It was this Bishop Richard who caused to be constructed the new feretory for St. David's relics (Part I.); and, from offerings at the shrine and other sources, we must conclude that funds were procured during all the period since the episcopate of Peter de Leia for the advance of the Cathedral building.

The see of St. David's, toward the end of the thirteenth century, had acquired a certain reputation and distinction, and the bishops who follow Richard de Carew filled, many of them, prominent civil positions. The first of these is [A.D. 1280—1293.] THOMAS BECK, who, before his election, had been Lord Treasurer, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, and Keeper of the Great Seal during the absence of Edward I. from England in 1279. Thomas Beck was brother of that "mighty clerk" Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem; and on the day of his consecration, at Lincoln, to the see of St. David's (the Octave of St. Michael, 1280), he defrayed the entire cost of the translation of the body of St. Hugh of Lincoln to its shrine in the new Presbytery.

Archbishop Peckham in 1284 held a visitation as Metropolitan throughout the dioceses of Wales; and on this occasion the Bishop of St. David's claimed to be exempt from his jurisdiction. This was the last attempt at independence made by the see, and it was altogether unsuccessful. The Archbishop's visitation was held without disturbance.

"Bishop Beck extended the cathedral foundation, and, as regards the number of the individuals composing the corporation, brought it to its present condition."^s He established also within his diocese the two Colleges of Llangadoc — afterwards removed to Abergwili — and of Llandewi-Brefi. The Welsh Chronicle asserts that Bishop Beck "sang a mass at Strata Florida, and this was the first

^s Jones and Freeman, p. 299.

mass sung in the diocese"—meaning, probably, that a more florid style of music was then introduced than had before been usual.

[A.D. 1296—1328.] DAVID MARTYN, otherwise called David of St. Edmund's, succeeded. Like Beck, he had been Chancellor of Oxford. He added the Lady Chapel at the east end of the Cathedral (Part I.); but was less distinguished as a builder than his successor.

[A.D. 1328—1347.] HENRY GOWER. He did much for the fabric of the Cathedral (Part I.), and was the builder of the magnificent Palace (Part I.), the ruins of which still attest the importance of St. David's, and the attraction of its great shrine, at this period. He was also the founder of a hospital at Swansea; and it is probable—as his surname seems to indicate—that he was a native of that town, or of its neighbourhood. Little is recorded of him, although he has “left, on the whole, more extensive traces of his mind at St. David's than any bishop who has occupied the see, either before or since.”^h He had been Chancellor of Oxford, and is said, but this is doubtful, to have been for a time Lord High Chancellor of England. The period of his episcopate would appear to have been chiefly passed by him at St. David's, where he must have been greatly occupied in building, and re-modelling the work of his predecessors. The peculiar style of Decorated Architecture which he seems to have originated has been described in Part I. His successor—

[A.D. 1347—1350.] JOHN THORESBY, had held the Great Seal, and had been Master of the Rolls. In the second year of his consecration he became Lord Chancellor. In 1350 he was translated to Worcester, and thence to York in 1352. He died in 1373. (See York Cathedral, Part II., for a farther account of him.) The two next bishops—

[A.D. 1350—trans. to Worcester 1352; died 1361.] REGINALD BRIAN; and

^h Jones and Freeman, p. 303.

[A.D. 1352—1361.] THOMAS FASTOLF, need only be named. Little or nothing is known of them.

[A.D. 1362—1389.] ADAM HOUGHTON had been Lord Chancellor. He built and endowed the College of St. Mary (Part I.), and added the cloisters which connected it with the Cathedral. The first establishment of the Cathedral School and the endowment of the choristers is also due to him. There is a story of his having been excommunicated by the Pope, and having excommunicated the Pontiff in turn; and this is said to have been represented in the stained glass of his College Chapel. But it is possible that the legend was invented to account for an otherwise unintelligible representation; or the Pontiff may have been the Anti-Pope Robert of Geneva, who reigned at Avignon as Clement VII. But the story rests on no sufficient foundation. On Bishop Houghton's death Richard Mitford was named as his successor, but was set aside by the Pope (he afterwards became bishop successively of Chichester and Salisbury), and, after a vacancy of more than a year,

[A.D. 1389—1397.] JOHN GILBERT succeeded. He was a Dominican, and had been bishop successively of Bangor and Hereford. Before his translation to St. David's he had served as Lord Treasurer, and soon afterwards became Treasurer for the second time. He was one of twelve Commissioners appointed to govern the kingdom in the name of Richard II. At St. David's he first codified the various ordinances by which the Cathedral was governed.

[A.D. 1397—1407.] GUY DE MOHUN had been Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was twice Treasurer during his episcopate. He attended the Council of Pisa, and was succeeded there and in the see of St. David's by

[A.D. 1408—1414.] HENRY CHICHELEY, trans. to Canterbury, the Archbishop of Shakespeare's Henry V., the founder of All Souls' and St. Bernard's Colleges at Oxford, and the rebuilder of his native Church of Higham Ferrers in North-

amptonshire, which he made Collegiate. For a full notice of him see Canterbury Cathedral, Part II.

"Of the ten prelates included between Beck and Chicheley, one" (Thoresby—but this is very doubtful) "is said to have been a Cardinal, two became Archbishops, two, perhaps three, held the office of Lord Chancellor, three that of Lord Treasurer, two of them more than once; three were Keepers of the Privy Seal, one was Master of the Rolls, three were Chancellors of the University of Oxford. All but two held distinguished civil positions of one kind or another; most of them are among the principal benefactors of their church and diocese; more than one have a historical reputation. It is evident that the see, from some cause or other, was regarded as one of the highest ecclesiastical positions in the realm; and it would seem, among other things, that its endowments had considerably increased in value since the time that Giraldus regarded it as unworthy of his acceptance in a pecuniary point of view, and even since the days of Thomas Wallensis, when it was considered, according to Browne Willis, 'a miserable poor thing.' This supposition is confirmed by the fact of Bishop Gilbert's translation hither from Bangor and Hereford. During the same period two translations only took place from St. David's to any suffragan see, and one of those was occasioned by the removal of a prelate, previously translated thence, to an archbishopric."¹

It is not less certain that, for some equally obscure reason, the see declined in public importance after the translation of Chicheley. The prelates which follow, until the religious changes of the sixteenth century, are by no means so distinguished as those of the former æra. It is to be remarked that the change to the more important æra "nearly synchronizes with the final subjugation of the Principality by Edward I.; while the third" (that on which we now enter)

¹ Jones and Freeman, pp. 305-6.

“commences soon after the complete degradation of the Welsh people in consequence of the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr; which lasted until their emancipation in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII.”^k This new æra begins with

[A.D. 1414—trans. to Coventry 1415.] JOHN CATTERICK. From Coventry he passed to Exeter in 1419.

[A.D. 1415—trans. to Chichester in 1417, in which year he died], STEPHEN PATRINGTON.

[A.D. 1418—1433.] BENEDICT NICOLLS, was translated to St. David's from Bangor.

[A.D. 1434—1442.] THOMAS RUDBORNE.

[A.D. 1442—1446.] WILLIAM LYNDWOOD. This was the famous canonist whose reputation had been earned long before his elevation to the see.

[A.D. 1447—died in the same year.] JOHN LANGTON had been Chancellor of Cambridge.

[A.D. 1447 — resigned in 1460.] JOHN DELABERE, Lord Almoner. Of him it is recorded that he never saw his diocese; but, says Browne Willis, he “committed the care of his bishoprick to one Griffin Nicholas son to Richard Fitz Thomas, a stout knight.” This “Griffin” or Gruffydd was, however, not the son, but the father, of the “stout knight” Sir Rhys ap Thomas. Bishop Delabere lived entirely in Oxfordshire, where he built Dorchester Bridge. His successor was

[A.D. 1460—1481.] ROBERT TULLY, who was never in possession of the temporalities. This, like Delabere's resignation, may have been owing to the political troubles of the time.

[A.D. 1482—1483.] RICHARD MARTIN had been Chancellor of Ireland and Ambassador to France and Spain. He is said to have enjoyed in a remarkable degree the personal regard of Edward IV.

^k Jones and Freeman, p. 307.

[A.D. 1483—trans. to Salisbury 1485.] THOMAS LANGTON.

He passed from Salisbury to Winchester in 1493, and died in 1501. Bishop Langton was the most distinguished personage who had filled the see since Chicheley; but his history belongs to Salisbury and Winchester.

[A.D. 1485—1496.] HUGH PAVY.

[A.D. 1496—1504.] JOHN MORGAN. He was the "first bishop of Welsh lineage probably since Iorwerth, and certainly since Thomas Wallensis. The fact of his appointment to the see, and that of Edward Vaughan, who followed his immediate successor, shows that national differences in Wales had now virtually given way to distinctions of class and that the better Welsh families were beginning to hold a co-ordinate position with those of the rest of the kingdom. It is true that their political disqualifications were not wholly removed till a somewhat later period, but their social position must have been considerably ameliorated by the extraordinary advancement of the Tudor family."¹

[A.D. 1505—trans. to Chichester 1508.] ROBERT SHERBORNE
(See 'Chichester Cathedral,' Part II.).

[A.D. 1509—1522.] EDWARD VAUGHAN; had been Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, where he built a house for his successors in the stall. He was a great builder in his diocese. In the Cathedral he constructed the chapel which bears his name, and the roof of the Lady Chapel and its ante-chapel (Part I.). St. Justinian's Chapel on the coast (Part I.); the chapel of Llawhaden Castle, and probably the chapel at Lamphey were also his work. Bishop Vaughan was clearly an active and, in the words of Browne Willis, "a most public spirited" man.

[A.D. 1523—1536.] RICHARD RAWLINS, who succeeded, was according to Anthony à Wood, "deprived of his wardenship of Merton College by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for many unworthy misdemeanours . . . and soon after,

¹ Jones and Freeman, p. 308.

because he should not be a loser, had the bishoprick of St. David's conferred upon him."^m He had accompanied Henry VIII. in the French war, and became Lord Almoner in 1514, on the promotion of Wolsey to York.

[A.D. 1536—trans. to Bath 1549.] WILLIAM BARLOW, passed from Bath to Chichester in 1559, and died in 1569. He had been Prior of Haverfordwest; and, after he became bishop, was accused of maintaining novel opinions on the church, purgatory, and auricular confession. He held by the new teaching; was deprived of Bath and Wells under Mary, and restored by Elizabeth to his episcopal functions at Chichester. At St. David's he did considerable mischief, and removed the lead from some portions of the Palace (probably from the great hall), thereby beginning the work which eventually led to its complete ruin. Barlow's five daughters were married to five bishops; and a St. David's tradition asserts that he removed the lead to supply their marriage portions. But this is at least improbable, since the daughters were portioned off at a much later period. Bishop Barlow also alienated the manor of Lamphey, which he granted to Henry VIII., by whom it was passed to Richard Devereux, ancestor of the Devereux Earls of Essex. The see itself "had a narrow escape of being removed to Caermarthen. Barlow's letter to Cromwell on this subject strongly urges the removal, partly on account of the inconvenient situation, and partly because the hopes of Protestantism rested on getting rid of the *religio loci*."ⁿ From this time, although the place of the see was happily unchanged, St. David's gradually ceased (and perhaps not less happily) to be an episcopal residence. The bishops have for the most part resided either on their Deanery of Brecon, or at Abergwili.

[A.D. 1548—1555.] ROBERT FERRAR was one of the victims

^m 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' i. 671.

ⁿ Jones and Freeman, p. 330.

of the Marian persecution, and was burnt at Caermarthen in 1555. He had got into trouble, however, during the reign of Edward VI., when, among other charges, that of "folly" was brought against him,—involving the points of "wearing a hat, christening his child Samuel, whistling to the said child, whistling to a seal in Milford Haven," and other enormities. The Bishop retorted the charge of folly on his accusers. He was, says Fuller, "a man not unlearned, but somewhat indiscreet, or rather uncomplaining, which procured him much trouble: so that he may be said, with St. Lawrence, to be broyled on both sides, being persecuted both by Protestants and Papists." °

[A.D. 1554—1559.] HENRY MORGAN: a native of Dewisland, and Chancellor of Llandaff.

[A.D. 1560—trans. to York 1561.] THOMAS YOUNG: a native of Pembrokeshire, born at Hodgeston, of which place he became Rector. He was also Precentor of St. David's, and a Prebendary of Brecon,—holding all his preferments in commendam with the see.

[A.D. 1561—1581.] RICHARD DAVIES: was translated from St. Asaph. He procured the translation of the Bible into Welsh; but alienated much of the patronage of his see.

[A.D. 1582—deposed 1590.] MARMADUKE MIDDLETON was translated from Waterford. He was deposed for uttering a forged will, and died in 1592. In his time the palace of St. David's was still habitable, though Bishop Middleton did not admire it. "The present bishop," writes Holinshed, "misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedral church: and therefore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to see it well performed."

[A.D. 1594—1615.] ANTONY RUDD: of whom little or nothing is recorded.

[A.D. 1615—trans. to Carlisle 1621.] RICHARD MILBOURNE

° 'Worthies': Wales.

(died 1624). In 1616 he obtained leave to "demolish" the palace at St. David's; and perhaps unroofed part of it. The walls of course he did not touch.

[A.D. 1621—trans. to Bath 1626.] WILLIAM LAUD held the see for a time, with much other preferment. From Bath he passed to London in 1628, and thence to Canterbury in 1633. He was beheaded, Jan. 10, 1645.

[A.D. 1627—trans. to Hereford 1635.] THEOPHILUS FIELD; passed to St. David's from Llandaff.

[A.D. 1636—1653.] ROGER MAINWARING: buried at Brecon, where the bishops seem to have chiefly resided at this time. The bishopric from this period was bestowed without any regard to its peculiar circumstances, or to the benefit of the diocese, but was treated simply as a step to richer episcopal preferment. Mainwaring's appointment is of some historical importance, having been made by Charles I. in the teeth of the disqualification passed upon him by Parliament on account of his famous sermon in support of passive obedience. The see remained vacant after Bishop Mainwaring's death till

[A.D. 1660—1677.] WILLIAM LUCY received it after the Reformation. He belonged to the ancient family of Lucy of Charlcote in Warwickshire; and the inscription on his monument in the Collegiate Church of Brecon, describes him as "*sacra infula dignissimus . . . Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fulgebat sidus lucidum verbi Divini . . . schismatis et hæresium averruncator . . . sedis Menevensis ingens ornamentum.*" The church contains a far more elaborate monument for his son, who died Chancellor of St. David's in 1690. It is to a member of the same family that the Cathedral of St. David's is indebted for the superb mosaics which fill the window spaces above the altar. (Part I.)

[A.D. 1678—trans. to Worcester 1683, died 1689.] WILLIAM THOMAS.

[A.D. 1683—1686.] LAURENCE WOMOCK.

[A.D. 1686—1687.] JOHN LLOYD.

[A.D. 1687—deprived 1699; died 1717.] THOMAS WATSON.

He is said to have fallen into disgrace with his canons from his attempts to insist on their residence, and on their repairing and restoring the Cathedral and their own houses. They procured his deprivation. He was tried in 1699 for simony by Archbishop Tenison and six bishops, when the sentence was passed on him. He died on his own estate of Great Wilbraham in Cambridgeshire, excommunicate, and was buried without any service of the church; not for any of his real or imputed offences, but because he had not paid certain fees to the Archbishop's officers. Bishop Watson was an earnest adherent of King James; and Burnet ('Hist. of his own Time') represents him as "one of the worst men in all respects that I ever knew in holy orders,"—a sentence which, it must be remembered, comes from King William's bishop.

[A.D. 1705—1710.] GEORGE BULL; one of the great lights of the English church; and one of the most illustrious names in the list of the bishops of St. David's.

George Bull, a member of an old Somersetshire family, was born at Wells in 1634. He was educated at Wells and at Tiverton, and afterwards passed to Exeter College, Oxford. Refusing to take the oath to the Commonwealth, he left Oxford in 1649; and when aged 21 was, on the same day, ordained deacon and priest by Dr. Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford. He was for some time vicar of St. George's, near Bristol, a small benefice worth about 30*l.* a year; and in 1658 became Rector of Suddington St. Mary, near Cirencester. After the Restoration, in 1662, he was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter's. Here he remained for twenty-seven years, and here he wrote nearly all his works: the '*Harmonia Apostolica*' was published in 1669, and the famous '*Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*' in 1685. In 1694 appeared his '*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*.' Besides his vicarage of Suddington he held a prebendal stall at Gloucester, the

rectory of Avening in Gloucestershire, and the archdeaconry of Llandaff. After his appointment to St. David's he removed into the diocese, and spent the greater part of his time there. It is only to be regretted that he did not obtain the see earlier in life, so that it might have reaped the full benefit of his energies.

[A.D. 1710—trans. to Hereford 1713.] PHILIP BISSE.

[A.D. 1713—1723.] ADAM OTTLEY: to whom Browne Willis dedicates his 'Survey of St. David's Cathedral.' He was a man of much primitive piety; active in the visitation of his Cathedral, and anxious to restore the palace at St. David's. This he did not attempt: but he repaired the palace at Abergwili, and fitted up the chapel there. At his death he ordered, "out of his great humility," that his body should be buried in Abergwili churchyard.

[A.D. 1724—trans. to Lichfield 1731.] RICHARD SMALL-BROOKE.

[A.D. 1731—trans. to Gloucester in the same year.] ELIAS SYDALL.

[A.D. 1732—trans. to Exeter 1742.] NICHOLAS CLAGETT.

[A.D. 1743—trans. to Bath in the same year; died 1773.] EDWARD WILLES.

[A.D. 1744—trans. to Durham 1752.] RICHARD TREVOR.

[A.D. 1753—1761.] ANTONY ELLIS.

[A.D. 1761—1766.] SAMUEL SQUIRE.

[A.D. 1766—trans. to Oxford in the same year, and thence to London in 1777; died 1787.] ROBERT LOWTH, author of the lectures 'De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum,' and of the 'Translation of Isaiah.'

[A.D. 1766—trans. to Bath 1774.] CHARLES MOSS.

[A.D. 1774—trans. to Gloucester 1779, thence to Ely, 1781; died 1808.] JAMES YORKE.

[A.D. 1779—trans. to Bangor 1783.] JOHN WARREN.

[A.D. 1783—trans. to Oxford 1788.] EDWARD SMALLWELL.

[A.D. 1788—trans. to Rochester 1793, thence to St. Asaph

1802.] SAMUEL HORSLEY, the famous opponent of Dr. Priestley.

[A.D. 1794—trans. to Armagh 1800.] WILLIAM STUART, son of the Marquis of Bute.

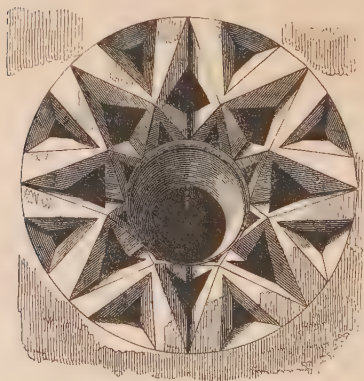
[A.D. 1801—1803.] LORD GEORGE MURRAY.

[A.D. 1803—trans. to Salisbury 1825; died 1837.] THOMAS BURGESS. He found the see, as might have been reasonably expected, in a neglected condition; and before his translation to Salisbury he “originated and brought into action several important measures of improvement, which have been further developed and borne fruit under the government of his successors.”^p

[A.D. 1825—1840.] JOHN BANKS JENKINSON; and

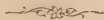
[A.D. 1840— .] CONNOP THIRLWALL.

^p Jones and Freeman, p. 337.



In the head of Triforium, St. David's.

ST. ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL.



PART I.

History and Details.^a

I. FOR the history of the See of St. Asaph, or, as it was generally called, Llanelwy, from the position of the church above the river Elwy, the reader

^a There is little direct evidence for the architectural history of St. Asaph's. The fullest collection of documents relating to the Church will be found in Browne Willis's 'Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph,' published in 1720. This book contains a tolerable description of the building as it existed at that time. In Storer's 'Cathedrals,' published in 1814, will be found some engravings and notices of interest. The 'Archæologia Cambrensis,' 1854 (new series, vol. v. 279), contains an important paper on the cathedral by Mr. E. A. Freeman, to which the present description is much indebted.

It is said that the fire of 1402 destroyed all the documents relating to St. Asaph's, which were then preserved in the cathedral, with the exception of a certain red book, the 'Lyfr Côch Asaph.' This book was lost during the civil war; but some notes which had been taken from it by Dr. Davies, of Maltwyd, were used by Wharton, the editor of the 'Anglia Sacra,' for his lives of the Bishops of St. Asaph; which, together with those of the Bishops of London, were published in a small volume in 1695. (The title is 'Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus, necnon de Episcopis et Decanis Assavensibus, a prima sedis utriusque fundacione ad annum MDXL.') Many of the documents printed by Wharton (especially those relating to the proposed change of the place of the see to Rhuddlan) will be found, edited with far greater accuracy, and with valuable notes, in Haddan and Stubbs's 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' vol. i.

is referred to Part II. No portion of the existing Cathedral is of earlier date than the end of the thirteenth century; but a church has occupied the same site from, possibly, the beginning of the seventh,—the days of St. Kentigern and St. Asaph. This site differs in so striking a manner from those chosen for the three other Welsh Cathedrals that it is fair to conclude that the earliest church established here was founded under different conditions. The Cathedrals of St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor, are placed on low ground, and are hardly seen at all from a distance. That of St. Asaph rises on the summit of a ridge dividing the valleys of the Clwyd and the Elwy, and extending to the junction of the two rivers, about a mile below the city,—as the village of a single street must be called in strictness. The Cathedral is thus visible throughout the district, and its elevated site commands views of great beauty and variety. It is the smallest Cathedral church in Great Britain, and there is some interest in the comparison of its main dimensions with those of Winchester,—the longest, if not the largest, in the world. The Cathedral of St. Asaph is 182 feet in length, and the breadth of the nave and aisles is 68 feet. The extreme length of Winchester is 555 feet 8 inches. The width of nave and aisles is about 100 feet.

II. We have no means of ascertaining with certainty the architectural character of the church which existed on this site before the present Cathedral. It possibly covered the same extent of ground: but even

this is not clear, and all that is certain is that it was a poor, and perhaps little cared for, building. The rude condition of all this part of Wales, constantly desolated by war and by bands of various forayers, is more than once mentioned as the cause of the occasional vacancy of the see, or of the flight of its bishops.^b It was the poorest of the Welsh sees, as its Cathedral was the smallest: and Giraldus, who visited it in 1188, the year in which Archbishop Baldwin preached the crusade throughout Wales, calls it the "poor little church of Llanelwy"—"*pauper-cula sedis Lanelvensis ecclesia*."^c This visit of the Archbishop and his company was, perhaps, the most noteworthy event in the history of the earlier church. As in the other Welsh Cathedrals, he celebrated mass at the high altar of St. Asaph's, as if thereby asserting the metropolitan rights of Canterbury over the Welsh sees.^d

^b In 1125 the see is described as vacant, '*pro vastitate et barbarie*.' Stubbs, '*Acta Pontif. Ebor.*' ap. Twysden '*X. Scriptores*,' p. 1718. The Welsh held St. Asaph from 1164 to 1169; and Godfrey, the Norman Bishop, fled, "*paupertate et Walensium infestatione compulsus*."—'*Benedictus Abbas*,' p. 90, ed. Stubbs. In 1247, Matthew Paris says that the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor were driven from their sees, "*destructis episcopatibus cæde et incendio*."

^c '*Itin. Kambriæ*,' ii. 8.

^d No Archbishop of Canterbury had visited Wales till Baldwin—"qui legationis hujus occasione . . . terram tam hispidam, tam inaccessibilem et remotam laudabili devotione circumvit; et in singulis cathedralibus ecclesiis, tanquam investituræ ejusdam signum, missam celebravit."—Giraldus, '*Itin. Kambriæ*,' ii. 1.

After the war of Edward I. with Llewellyn of Wales, and the submission of the latter in 1277, Edward rebuilt in great strength the town and castle of Rhuddlan on the low ground below the junction of the Clwyd and the Elwy, about two miles nearer the sea than St. Asaph's. It was then proposed that the place of the see should be removed within the greater security of the castle walls, and about the middle of the year 1281 Bishop Anian wrote to Pope Martin IV., asking leave for the removal,^e whilst King Edward himself addressed a certain Cardinal (whose name is unknown) and pointed out the advantages to be gained from it.^f The Cathedral, say both the King and the Bishop, instead of being "*in loco celebri et sollempni*," stood in a village ("*in vico campestri*") unprotected by walls or fosses. It had few or no neighbours, and was exposed to great dangers from thieves and soldiers, so that its goods, and even the body of the most glorious Confessor St. Asaph, might be spoiled and carried off before any one could hear of it, and then it would be too late to sound the ward horns.^g Moreover, in time of war,

^e Haddan and Stubbs's 'Councils,' i. 529. Mr. Haddan gives sufficient reasons for assigning the date of this letter to the middle of the year 1281, instead of 1283, as given by Browne Willis, 'St. Asaph,' Append. xx. It was certainly written before St. Asaph's Cathedral was burned—that is, before June, 1282.

^f Id. id. i. 530. The letter was probably written from Rhuddlan, where Edward was in the months of May and June, 1281.

^g "*Tanquam illa quæ in nullius bonis sunt, prædonum incursibus et latronum insidiis, una cum corpore sancti Assaphi*

the Canons could not get to the church, or reside near it, without great danger; and for these and other reasons it often happened, not only on ordinary days but on great and solemn festivals, that the Divine mysteries were celebrated only for the clerks and the walls of the church,—the distance and the dangers preventing the approach of other hearers. The King accordingly offered a site for a new Cathedral within the walls of Rhuddlan, and a thousand marks toward the building of the church. But before this proposal can have been well entertained Hawarden Castle was stormed by the Welsh Prince David on the evening of Palm Sunday (March 22nd), 1282, and the war broke out afresh. Bishop Anian, whether with or without reason, was suspected by Edward of some complicity with the Welsh, and was driven from his see (see Part II.). The Cathedral of St. Asaph was burned by the English,—under what circumstances is not evident;^h and when Anian was allowed to return in

gloriosissimi confessoris, subjacent periculis infinitis; unde si de die vel nocte hos insultari contingeret vel invadi, quicquid habent possent amittere, antequam inde ad vicinos rumor aliquis perveniret; et tunc nimis tarde venirent elephantum barritus, qui corruentes socios relevant voce sua.”—*Letter of King Edward*. It is remarkable that this is the only occasion on which we hear anything of the body of St. Asaph. It must have been enshrined, since otherwise it could hardly have been in danger from thieves.

^h Archbishop Peckham, writing to Bishop Anian (June 6, 1282), entreats him not to excommunicate too hastily the English who had burnt his cathedral, since the exact circumstances of the burning were not then evident: “*quibusdam astruentibus quod justo prelio, secundum modum precipue pre-*

1284 the design for removing the place of the see was altogether abandoned. As some compensation, perhaps, the advowson of the Church of Rhuddlan was granted to the Bishops of St. Asaph, and the King gave (November, 1284) one hundred pounds sterling to the chapter in consideration of the destruction and calamities which had fallen on the Church of St. Asaph during the late war.ⁱ

III. Bishop Anian, on his return, set to work to rebuild his Cathedral on the same site. His work (he returned to the see in 1284 and died in 1293) was apparently continued by his two successors, Leo-line (1293-1314) and David (1315-1352). It is this rebuilding which remains in the present nave and transepts. From what sources the necessary means were supplied is not evident; but the clerks of St. Asaph more than once carried through the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, of Hereford, and of Wales, a certain book of the Gospels, held in great veneration throughout Wales and the Marches, seeking by the exhibition of it, as of a shrine or relic, to obtain alms for their church.^k In this manner the building fund

liandi in partibus Wallie, civitas vestra, utpote effugium et subterfugium hostium publicorum extitit concremata: et preter intentionem illorum ignis inhesit ecclesie cum dispendio subsecuto."—*Haddan and Stubbs*, i. 536.

ⁱ The receipt for this sum, from the Archdeacon, Dean, and Chapter of St. Asaph, is printed in 'Rymer,' i. 650.—*Haddan and Stubbs*, i. 581.

^k "Librum seu textum Evangeliorum de Ecclesia Assaph vulgo 'Ereuegilthes' appellatum, qui in magna veneratione habetur in partibus Wallie et Marchie apud omnes, et

may have been satisfactorily increased. The tower, above the roofs, is certainly later than the rest of the work, and was probably the last part finished. Nothing, however, is recorded of the fabric until the Welsh wars of Owen Glendower, by whom, in 1402, the Cathedral is said to have been burnt. A writ of Henry VI., freeing the bishop from the payment of taxes, "dismes and quinzimes," on account of the costly work of reparation, says that the "Chirch Cathedrall of Saint Asaph, with the steple, bells, quere, porch, and vestiary, with all other contentis, bokes, chaliz, vestinentis, and other ornaments, as the bokes, stalles, deskas, altres, and all the aparail longyng to the same chirch, was brent and utterly destroyed; and in likewys the Byshops Palays and all his other three mannoirs, no styk laft."¹ It is certain, however, from the evidence of the existing Church, that the destruction on this occasion was almost entirely confined to the woodwork. The roofs were, no doubt, burnt, and the Cathedral remained in a ruined

propter casus varios a quibusdam clericis prefate Ecclesie quandoque per patriam tanquam sanctuarium honorifice circumfertur."—*Letter of Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury*, in 1277, to the clergy and laity of the neighbouring dioceses, requesting them to aid and protect the clerks of St. Asaph's. A similar letter was issued by Archbishop Peckham in 1284; and by Leoline Bromfield, Bishop of St. Asaph's (1293-1314) to an official of the Archdeacon of Chester. —*Haddan and Stubbs*, i. 523.

¹ This writ is printed in Browne Willis's 'St. Asaph,' p. 229—"ex bibliotheca Thomæ Sebright, baronetti"—and from a MS. "of the late incomparable Mr. Edward Llwyd." The writ is dated in 1402.

condition until the time of Bishop Redman (1471-1495) who restored it, putting on new roofs, and inserting (it is said) a large Perpendicular window in the choir, which he also refitted with stalls and desks."ⁿ Bishop Owen (1629—died 1651) "new built and beautified the episcopal throne," and, among other benefactions, set up in 1635 "the great and new organ which was brought from London in the beginning of October, and played upon."ⁿ But evil times were at hand for the Church of St. Asaph. "In Oliver's days the post road was not through Denbigh, but St. Asaph, and one Milles kept the office in the Bishop's palace." There he sold wine and other liquors, and "most prophanely desecrated the Cathedral. He kept his horses and oxen in the body of the church, and fed calves in the bishop's throne and in the choir. He removed the font to his own yard, and used it for a trough to water horses."^o The mischief done at this time to the Church was remedied by Bishop Barrow (1670-1680). He "repaired the north and south aisles, new covered them with lead, and caused the east parts of the choir to be wainscoted."^p Bishop Fleetwood (1708-1714) "paved and flagged great part of the Cathedral with broad stone, and laid out 100*l.* in adorning and painting the choir throughout."^q The choir, up to the time of Bishop Shipley (1769-1788) was in great part of Early English character, the walls having survived the destruction of 1282.

ⁿ Browne Willis.ⁿ Id.^o Id.^p Id.^q Id.

It was restored during the rebuilding of the Cathedral in the fourteenth century; when the roof and the east window were entirely renewed. Bishop Redman, according to Browne Willis, altered the east window, inserting Perpendicular tracery; but of this there is no distinct evidence. About the year 1780, however, the choir underwent a complete remodelling. The timber roof was hidden by a plaster ceiling; and the east window, which had probably become dilapidated, was filled with modern tracery. The side windows were walled up or destroyed. Early in the present century, during the episcopate of Bishop Cleaver (1806-1815), the roof of the nave was altered, and lowered, so as altogether to conceal the clerestory from within. This unfortunate arrangement still exists; but the choir has (1867-8) been happily subjected to a second and truer restoration under the care of Sir G. G. Scott. The windows of the nave aisles had been "restored" in 1830 and 1844.

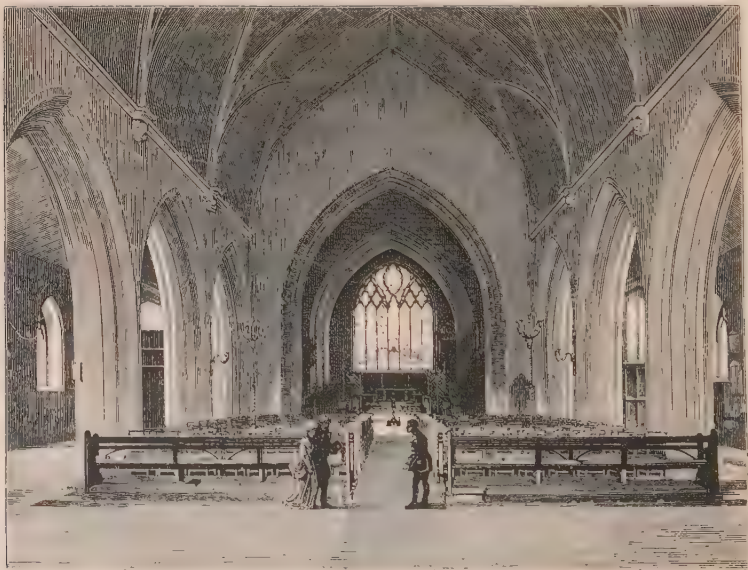
IV. Such is the architectural history of St. Asaph's Cathedral. The existing building, which consists of nave and aisles, central tower and transepts and choir, is accordingly of three periods,—the whole of the western portion, including the tower and transepts, Decorated, the work of Bishop Anian and his successors; the choir Early English and Decorated, with a modern restoration. A full examination of St. Asaph's will not be lengthy or laborious, but the church is far from being without interest or beauty.

V. The *exterior* is, in fact, very striking, especially

as seen from the south-west (*Frontispiece*). The massive central tower rises well above the steep roofs of the nave and transepts, and if we could forget the claims of the church as a Cathedral "it would at once be recognized as presenting a remarkable majesty of outline; on which, far more than on any special point of detail, its claim to attention is founded." There is, indeed, little of the Cathedral type, if we except the cruciform ground plan; but the whole composition has a simple dignity which is but ill replaced by the elaborate ornament of many a more ambitious structure. It is built entirely of a red sandstone brought from a quarry near Kyl-Owen, and worked throughout the year by six labourers whom the free tenants of the Dean and Chapter were bound to find "ad discooperiendam quarreram vocatam rubram, pro operationibus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Asaphensis," until Bishop William de Spridlington (1376-1382) agreed with the tenants to take a yearly fine of ten marks instead.^r "A few bold and simple members form the style of composition throughout,—both in general design and in detail."^s The nave and aisles are of five bays. The transepts and choir have no attached chapels; but the old choir, partially destroyed toward

^r The Charter is printed in Browne Willis's 'Appendix,' No. xix. The arrangement was made by the Dean and Chapter, "advertentes dicta opera modicum proficuum eidem Ecclesiæ, tam per maliciam Laborariorum quam aliis de causis, per non modicum tempus fecisse."

^s E. A. Freeman's "St. Asaph's Cathedral"; 'Archæol. Cambrensis' (new series, v. p. 279).



ST ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST

the end of the last century, was also without aisles, and had only, as may be seen in Browne Willis's plan, a square chapter-house projecting from it on the north side.[†]

The *West Front* (*Frontispiece*), plain and unadorned as it is, is excellent in its truth and simplicity of design. Above the portal is a large Decorated window rising into the steep gable which surmounts it. Plain buttresses with gabled heads, above which rise pinnacles, flank the main front; and on either side, below the sloping roof of the aisle, is a single window of two lights. At the angles of the aisles are plain gabled buttresses of the same character as the larger ones—the pinnacles of which were restored (about 1840) in an indifferent manner. The wave mouldings, running in six orders round the arch of the portal, without the interruption of capitals, strike the keynote of the design which is carried throughout the ancient portion of the church.

VI. This is at once seen on entering the *nave* (Plate I.). Of the five bays the westernmost is narrower than the others; but the piers and arches of all are alike plain, having two orders of wave moulding carried uninterruptedly round the arch, without capital or impost. The same arrangement

[†] This chapter-house was apparently contemporary with the choir. Of the building itself nothing is known but from Browne Willis's plan; but during the restoration under Sir G. G. Scott, the Early English portal was discovered, opening from the choir.

occurs in the arches which carry the central tower, and in those opening to the transepts from the nave. A single continuous moulding, forming a sort of external order or frame to the arch, occurs in the nave of Worcester Cathedral, in those two western bays which are of Transition Norman character; and a similar moulding is found in some of the Norman work of Gloucester. In the Perpendicular period the continuous moulding occasionally appears carried quite round the arch, from the ground, but between each moulding are small attached pier shafts, with capitals. This is the arrangement in the collegiate Church of Crediton, and it occurs elsewhere in Devonshire. But it is very unusual to find the lines of pier and arch unbroken by capital or impost; and, although the effect is not without a certain simple dignity, the design can hardly be recommended for imitation. The eastern bay of the nave of Chester Cathedral resembles the plain arcade of St. Asaph's; and since it is of the same date it is probable that the same architect or workmen were employed in either case.

The roof which now covers the nave of St. Asaph's dates from 1815, when the ancient arrangement above the main arcade was destroyed. Up to that time there existed a clerestory of five windows on either side; square lights, with an octofoiled inner moulding. There was a cradle roof of timber. For whatever reason, the clerestory windows on the north side were entirely removed, and the lights on the south side were

concealed by a bad plaster ceiling in imitation of a vault. This still remains, and unquestionably produces "an effect of lowness and disproportion."^u The squared clerestory lights may still be seen without, on the south side; and it is at once evident that the removal of their simple and graceful forms from the interior entailed a serious loss. The brackets which carried shafts between the clerestory windows remain in the cornice of the modern vault. They are, for the most part, sculptured with grotesque crouching figures.

The great west window (see *Frontispiece* and Plate II.) is of somewhat unusual character. It is of six lights, "the primary pattern describing a triplet, each of whose members is filled in with a two-light divergent design."^x The modern stained glass, of no great merit, is placed in the window as a memorial of the Rev. Rowland Toms, Canon of St. Asaph.

VII. The west windows of the *aisles* are of two lights, with a large quatrefoiled space in the head. The other windows in the aisles were "restored" (destroyed?)—those of the north aisle in 1830, those of the south in 1844. In each aisle, in the second bay from the west, there is a doorway. In their present state the windows and portals are imitations of Early Decorated work, and in no way represent the original windows, which resembled those at the west end of the aisles. The change was deliberately made at a period when sound principles of restoration were even less understood than is the case at present; and although

^u E. A. Freeman.

^x Id.

made, no doubt, with excellent intentions, the result is singularly unfortunate.

VIII. The great arches of the *central tower* are plain, and perfectly resemble those of the nave arcade.^y In the *Transepts*, north and south, are windows of five lights with ogee tracery. The south transept has two windows on the east side, the north only one; an arrangement which, probably, had reference to the position of altars below. The south transept, serving at once as consistory court and chapter-house, is divided from the central tower space by a closed screen. In the north transept is placed the organ,—the choir occupying the space beneath the central tower.

It is evident that the nave, the transepts, and the tower arches, are of one design, and nearly, if not quite, of the same period. If Bishop Anian began by rebuilding the choir (which has now disappeared), and raised the aisle walls of the nave, his immediate successors seem to have continued the building; and the transepts—the last portions to be finished—were probably completed shortly before 1336, when a charter of Edward III., confirming the appropriation of the Church of Nantelyn to the Vicars Choral of St. Asaph,

^y During the late (1868) restoration, it was found that the eastern piers of the tower had been damaged by fire. This is somewhat perplexing; since, if the fire was that in Edward I.'s time, we should expect the piers to be of older and different detail from those westward, which is not the case. If the mischief was done by Owen Glendower's fire, how did the roofs of choir and transepts escape,—which are all older?

mentions "*nova capella ex parte australi constructa.*" This was the south transept, which served as St. Mary's, or the Lady Chapel; and for saying mass in which Nantelyn was assigned to the Vicars Choral by Bishop David (1315–1352). It is probable, therefore, that nave, transepts, and tower arches, were constructed during Bishop David's long episcopate. The nave is fitted with open seats.

IX. There are few *monuments* in the nave or transepts which call for notice. In the *south transept* is a seated figure by *Ternouth*, of Dean Shipley, who died in 1826, erected by subscription throughout the diocese, and completed in 1829. Here, also, is the effigy of a bishop, fully vested. The hands have been broken off, but the right held the pastoral staff, part of which remains, and the left, which was elevated, may have supported a chalice. At the head are censuring angels. The figure, which is of peculiar beauty, and dates from early in the fourteenth century, is probably that of Bishop Anian, the founder of the new Cathedral.

In the *north transept*, against the north window, is a heavy monument for Bishop *Luxmoore*, died 1830.

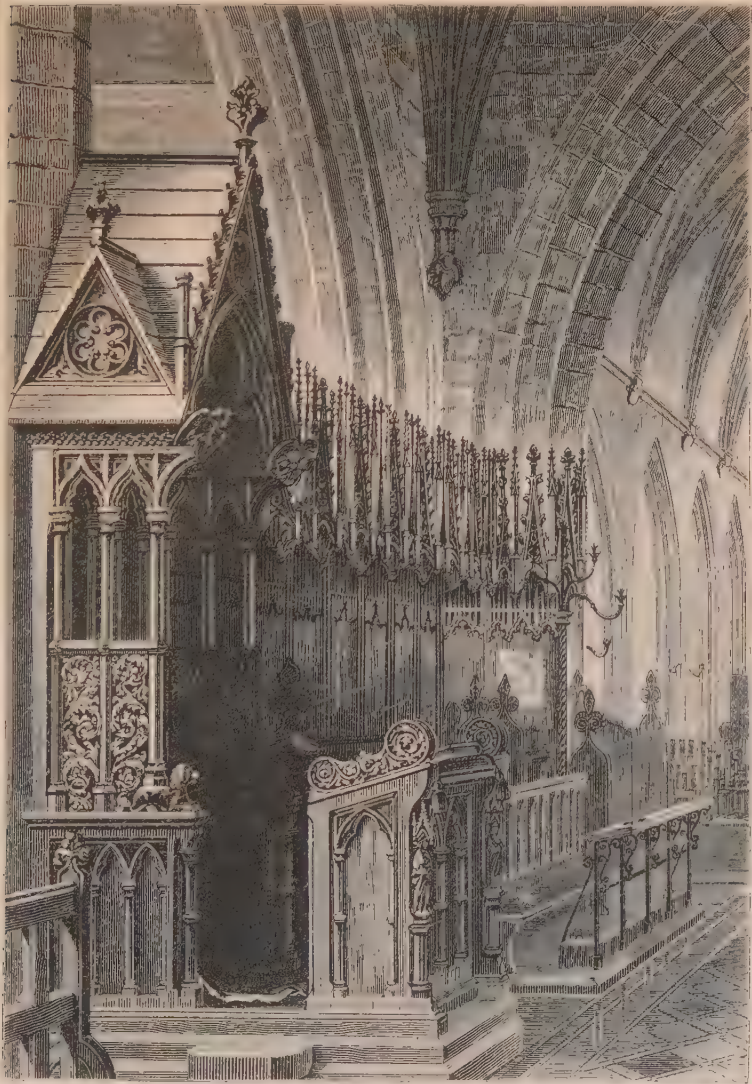
In the *south aisle of the nave* is a monument by *Westmacott*, R.A., for Sir John Williams, Bart., of Bodelwyddan, who died in 1830. Here are also many mural tablets for the Brownes of Bronwylfa,—brothers and relatives of Mrs. Hemans the poetess. She lived for some time at Bronwylfa, near St. Asaph's; and above tablets for her mother, her

brothers, and their wives, is one with the following inscription—"This tablet is placed here, by her brothers, in memory of Felicia Hemans, whose character is best portrayed in her writings. She died in Dublin, 16th May, 1835, aged 40."

At the west end of this aisle is a monument for Bishop *Carey*; died 1846.

X. The space beneath the central tower was vaulted with oak during the recent restoration, and at no time was open as a lantern. Here are now arranged the stalls and choir desks, with the bishop's throne at the east end on the south side (Plate II.). The stalls and parts of the canopies are ancient; the rest is modern, from the designs of Sir G. Gilbert Scott; and, whilst the work is of great beauty, it is not too rich or elaborate for the comparatively plain architecture with which it is associated.

XI. The walls of the choir, before the rebuilding of 1780, were Early English, with lancet windows, the shafts of which were banded. So much may be gathered from the engraving in Browne Willis's 'Cathedral of St. Asaph,' published in 1720. The roof, according to his description, was "cieled with wood, and painted white, without any framing; sweep'd from side to side, containing only boards nailed to the joices, or under the couples." This ceiling concealed a cradle roof of the fourteenth century. The great east window (then filled with tracery inserted by Bishop Redman) contained "some few pieces of painted glass scattered up and down in it."



ST. ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL. BISHOP'S THRONE

An engraving in Storer's 'Cathedrals' (1814) shows the later choir by which the original work was replaced in 1780; and sufficiently proves that the recent changes effected by Sir G. G. Scott afford no cause for regret. These changes are, in fact, a return to the character of the original choir, so far as that could be ascertained;—but for some unfortunate and mysterious reason, Sir G. Scott was not permitted to make a full examination of the walls of the choir for the sake of discovering such fragments of ancient details as might be built up in them (an examination which has led to such admirable results at Bangor); and the eastern side windows were accordingly restored from early engravings, and from such direct evidence as was visible. On reaching the westernmost windows, however (those nearest to the tower), the ancient jambs were discovered, together with a great number of detached details, sufficient to complete the design with much of the original materials. This is excellent Early English; and it is not a little to be regretted (as is felt by no one more than by Sir G. G. Scott himself) that this discovery was made too late to prevent the restoration of the other windows on a design which is, after all, very conjectural. The ancient sedilia were also found; and the entrance to the Chapter House on the north side. The jambs and arch of the east window are Decorated, dating from early in the fourteenth century. The tracery is modern. The cradled timber roof, which had been hidden by a wretched plaster ceiling, has been again brought to light. It is

sufficiently clear that the roof of the Early English choir had been burnt; that its walls had been preserved; and that they were retained when a complete restoration was made during Bishop Anian's rebuilding.

The westernmost windows of the *presbytery* are accordingly of ancient design, and in part of ancient materials. The others are modern, of Early English character. The *roof* has been thoroughly restored, and many of the bosses are new. The east window, with Decorated jambs and arch, is filled with modern tracery. The stained glass is by *Ward* and *Hughes*.

The *reredos*—the gift of Mrs. Hesketh of Gwrych Castle—consists of an entablature in alabaster, sculptured with the procession to Calvary. On either side is arcading. The *reredos*, the cost of which was about 600*l.*, was designed by Sir G. G. Scott.

Open benches are arranged on either side of the *presbytery*. The floor is laid with encaustic tiles. Looking westward (Plate III.) the great window of the nave is well seen.

XII. Returning to the *exterior* of the Cathedral it will be seen that the clerestory lights, altogether concealed within, are uninjured on the south side of the nave. On the north they have been destroyed. Above these windows, and above the aisle wall, is a corbel table,—“possibly a slight sign of military character.”^z The windows of the aisles were restored, as has already

^z E. A. Freeman.



ST' ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL INTERIOR LOOKING WEST

been said, in 1830 and 1844; and the work on the exterior is not very good.

The tower was, probably, the last part of the church which was finished. On each front is a large belfry window of three lights, with transoms, and ogee tracery in the headings. The whole design may date from the end of the fourteenth century; but the battlement was rebuilt after a storm in 1714,^a and a change in the masonry (indicated in the woodcut—see *Frontispiece*) “induces the belief that the whole upper portion of the tower was rebuilt at the same time. But, if so, it is clear that the original stone-work of the windows was replaced with great care, and that they may safely be referred to as genuine specimens.”^b The height of the tower is 93 feet.

A chapter-house, occupying the place usually assigned to a sacristy, projected on the north side of the original choir, and was destroyed together with it. It was, according to Browne Willis, 16½ feet east and west by 19 feet north and south. It was “arched overhead with arches meeting in two centres,” and there was a room above it.

^a The cathedral had before suffered from storms.

Bishop Barrow (d. 1680) procured the appropriation of the rectories of Llanrhayader and Skeiviog, for the repairs of the fabric and the better maintenance of the choir. The Act begins thus:—“Whereas the cathedral of St. Asaph . . . by reason of the high and bleak situation thereof near the sea, is much exposed to storms, and requireth great and frequent repairs,” &c.—B. Willis, ‘Appendix,’ No. xxxix.

^b E. A. Freeman.

XIII. Outside the west door of the Cathedral, on the south, is the altar tomb of Bishop *Barrow* (see Part II.), with a somewhat remarkable inscription. Above are his armorial bearings—four “flower de lis’s”—quarterly, impaled with those of the see. The inscription runs,—“*Exuviæ Isaac Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ in speciem letæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. Obiit dictus Reverendus Pater festo D. Johannis Baptistæ, Ao. Dom. 1680. Æt. 67. et translationis suæ undecimo. O vos trans-euntes in Domum Domini in Domum Orationis, orate pro conservo vestro ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini.*”

The churchyard is well kept, and commands pleasant views. Due west of the church is the Deanery; and south-west, at the foot of the hill, on the bank of the Elwy, is the Episcopal Palace,—rebuilt in part by Bishop Carey (1830–1846).

XIV. The Cathedral of St. Asaph is not, like St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor, a parish church. The parish Church of St. Asaph's stands a short distance west of the Cathedral, and is a small, double-aisled, Perpendicular building of little interest. The south aisle is known as *Eglwys Asaph* (Asaph's Church), the north as *Eglwys Cyndern* (Kentigern's Church).

XV. St. Asaph, like other Welsh saints, had, of course, his holy wells in various parts of his diocese. One of the most noticeable is the *Ffynnon Asaph*, about two miles from the town, and a mile from the ruins of Dyserth Castle, which is enclosed with stone,

and throws up no less than seven tons of water every minute. It was formerly a place of pilgrimage, but was never so famous as the *Ffynnon Vair*, or St. Mary's Well, about two miles south-west of St. Asaph's. This is covered in by a building apparently designed after that over St. Winifred's or Holywell. The well is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, with three of the sides formed into angles, from each point of which formerly sprung a shaft. The south arm of the cross dates from the early part of the fifteenth century; the rest is late Perpendicular. The building is now in ruins. "In King James II.'s days," says Browne Willis, "some Roman Catholics had a design to rebuild it, it being held by them in such great sanctity that those who pay their devours to St. Winifred seldom fail to make a visit to Capell ffynnon vair. . . . By the side of the well there grows a sweet-scented moss, much esteemed by pilgrims."

A mark on a black stone in the pavement of the street of the town, about midway between the Cathedral and the parish church, was long shown as the print of St. Asaph's horseshoe. The saint, said tradition, leapt on horseback from his well near Dyserth to this spot.

ST. ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL.



PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the Principal Bishops.

THE see of Llanelwy, or St. Asaph, like the other Welsh sees, seems to have been founded toward the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century. The founder is said to have been St. Kentigern, or Cyndeyrn, who, when he returned himself to Glasgow in Strathelyde, left in his place his disciple St. Asaph,—from whom, as in the case of St. David's, the see was afterwards named. At both places, however, the local name also remained, and was also attached to the see. "Mynyw"—Menevia—"the brake," at St. David's; "Llanelwy,"—the "Church of the Elwy," at St. Asaph's. The diocese of St. Asaph was, for the most part, conterminous with the principality of Powys, which came into existence about the same time as the see.

Kentigern, or Cyndeyrn, was a disciple of St. Servan, or St. Serf, Bishop of Culross in the Mearns,—that district of "the Picts in Britain" where Palladius the Roman missionary taught, after his rejection by the Irish, and where he died soon after 431. Kentigern, according to the very legendary life, written by Joscelin of Furness about 1180, and addressed to Joscelin, Bishop of Glasgow (1175—1199),^a after leaving St. Serf, took up his abode at Glas-

^a A fragment of an earlier life, by an anonymous monk, addressed to Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow (1147—1164), is printed

gow, on the extreme northern border of Strathclyde, at which place he founded the episcopal see, becoming himself the first bishop. From this place he traversed repeatedly, and on foot, the wild country of Strathclyde and Cumbria, which, until the end of the sixth century, and later, extended as far south as the mouth of the river Mersey, and was thus separated only by the estuary from North Wales. Wales, Strathclyde, and Cumbria, were alike peopled by Cymric Celts, and the dialects, however they may have slightly varied, were mutually intelligible. Kentigern, after preaching and founding churches throughout Strathclyde, betook himself (the life asserts in consequence of a quarrel with the British King of Strathclyde) to Mynyw, or Menevia, where St. David was then presiding over his great monastic establishment.^b Here he remained some time; and then, journeying again northward, he halted on the banks of the Elwy; and Cadwallon, King or Prince of the country, gave him a spot of ground on which he constructed a small wooden church, the germ of the existing Cathedral. Round it were grouped the rude buildings of a vast monastic community, such as he had seen at St. David's, and which he now gathered about him at Llanelwy. There were, says his biographer, nine hundred and sixty-five brethren; three hundred of whom were tillers of land and tenders of cattle; three

in the 'Glasgow Chartulary,' vol. i. That of Joseclin of Furness (founded upon an earlier Glasgow legend, and upon a document written in Irish) will be found in Pinkerton's 'Vitæ Sanctorum Scotiæ.' (See Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils and Eccles. Doc.' i. p. 157).

^b The biographers of nearly all the Irish and Welsh saints of this period take them to the Monastery of St. David, at Menevia. The lives are for the most part legendary, and not to be trusted in detail; but there is little doubt that St. David was one of the great religious teachers of his age. (See 'St. David's Cathedral,' Part II.).

hundred more prepared the food and attended to domestic concerns; and the remaining three hundred and sixty-five, who were clerkly persons, kept up a ceaseless service of prayer and thanksgiving,—the “*laus perpetua*” of the highest monastic life. Joscelyn is hardly a sufficient authority for the existence of such a community at Llan-elwy; and his life of Kentigern is far too late and too legendary to be accepted in other than the main outlines. But it is tolerably certain that large monastic establishments of this character existed at this time in Wales; and that one of the largest was situated at Bangor Iscoed, on the Dee, at no great distance south of Chester, and in the same principality of Powys as Llan-elwy. Twelve hundred brethren of this great monastery were slaughtered by the heathen Ethelfrith of Northumbria before his attack on Chester in 613.^c

At Llan-elwy, Kentigern established the episcopal see; and, after himself acting as its bishop for some years, he returned to Strathclyde, where a new king had arisen, who was willing to receive him. He took with him six hundred and sixty of his monks; and presided over the diocese of Glasgow, flourishing in miracles, until, according to Joscelyn, he attained the vast age of one hundred and eighty-five. The year of his death, and perhaps with accuracy, is given as 612.

When St. Kentigern left Llan-elwy he appointed in his place his favourite disciple St. Asa, or Asaph,—whose name has probably been Hebraised from some Cymric appellation of similar sound. Of St. Asaph little or

^c “*Extinctos in ea pugna ferunt, de his qui ad orandum venerant, viros circiter mille ducentos, et solum quinquaginta fuga esse lapsos.*”—*Bede*, ‘H. E.’ ii. 2. The monks had been placed “*in tutiore loco*,” to pray for the success of the British King. Ethelfrith exclaimed, “If they pray against us to their God they fight against us,” and ordered them to be attacked and slaughtered before the actual fight was begun.

nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from the legendary lives of his master. On one occasion Kentigern desired his disciple to bring him some fire; and, finding no proper vessel at hand, St. Asaph folded the hot coals in the skirts of his habit, and carried them safely to Kentigern by virtue of a strong faith. A favourite saying of St. Asaph's, "Whosoever is against the preaching of God's word envies man's salvation," is also recorded. The year of his death is altogether unknown; and no separate life of him exists. It is worth noticing that, although the age of St. Kentigern and St. Asaph is the golden age of Welsh saints, they are almost entirely confined to the southern principalities,—Dyfed (Dimetia), Gwent (Monmouthshire), and Keredigion (Cardigan). What is now North Wales was perhaps ruder, and more exposed to the attacks of the English, whose conquests were steadily advancing. Strathclyde and Cumbria were certainly in this condition; and Kentigern is almost the single saint or Christian teacher whose memory is preserved throughout the whole country—from Glasgow to Chester.

Of the see of St. Asaph no records whatever exist from the time of its foundation until the middle of the twelfth century. A bishop is mentioned in 928 (in the Preface to the 'Laws of Howell Dda'); and 'Melanus Lanelvensis' is said to have been consecrated by Bedwd, or Bleiddud, Bishop of St. David's, who died in 1071. But the authority for this statement is a letter written by the Chapter of St. David's in 1145, to the Pope, Eugenius III., respecting the claim of that see to the metropolitan dignity; and the assertion, like others in the same letter, is by no means to be regarded as certainly accurate.^a In 1125 it was proposed to transfer to the Province of York, from that of Canterbury, the dioceses of Chester and Bangor, "*et tercium inter hos duos medium, sed pro vastitate et*

^a See the letter in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 348.

barbarie vacantem.”^o This was St. Asaph or Llanelwy.

There is no evidence that the see was occupied until

[A.D. 1143.] When Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated, at Lambeth, a certain GILBERT. The circumstances of his election and consecration are obscure; but it is clear that St. Asaph's was the last of the Welsh sees which remained independent of Canterbury; and it is, perhaps, for this reason, that Henry of Huntingdon, writing about 1135, omits the see in his list of Welsh bishoprics. The date of Gilbert's death is not known. His successor was

[A.D. 1152—1154.] GEOFFRY, also consecrated at Lambeth by Archbishop Theobald. This was the famous Geoffry of Monmouth,—of which place he was archdeacon. “Geoffry ap Arthur” was “priest of the household” of William Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan. He never visited his see; but, according to the ‘Brut y Tywysogion,’ “died in his house at Llandaff, and was buried in the church there. He was a man whose like could not be found for learning and knowledge and all divine excellences. He was a foster son of Uchtryd, Archbishop” (see *Intro.* to this volume. Llandaff claimed metropolitanical dignity with as much, or as little, reason as St. David's) “of Llandaff, his uncle by the father's side; and for his learning and excellencies an archdeaconry was conferred upon him in the church of Teilo at Llandaff, where he was the instructor of many scholars and chieftains.”^f

Geoffry was one of the witnesses, in 1153, to the compact between Stephen and Henry. His book, which, whatever amount of truth it may contain, has confused all the early history of Britain, and has been a fertile source of error, was published about 1138, and at once attained a great celebrity. Whoever was unacquainted

^o Stubbs, ‘Acta Pontif. Ebor.’ ap. Twysden, ‘Decem Scriptores,’ p. 1718. The transfer was never effected.

^f Brut, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 360.

with it, in the words of Alured of Beverley, "*notam rusticitatis incurrebat.*" Godwin (*'De Præsul. Angliæ'*) has confused Geoffry with his successor Godfrey—and asserts that William of Newburgh, who has made a vigorous attack on Geoffry in his history, was elected to the see of St. Asaph on its avoidance by Geoffry—(it was really Godfrey who resigned the see)—but was rejected; and that it was in consequence of this disappointment that the passage was inserted in the history. But Godwin seems to have had no authority for the statement,—which, at any rate, cannot have applied to Geoffry.

[A.D. 1154—date of death unknown.] RICHARD; also consecrated by Archbishop Theobald.

[A.D. 1160—resigned 1175.] GODFREY, also consecrated by Theobald. Owen, Prince of Gwynedd, revolted in 1164, and held out successfully until 1169. He took possession of St. Asaph at the beginning of the revolt. Bishop Godfrey was driven from his see, "*paupertate et Walensium infestatione compulsus,*" and, coming to England, was received "*benigne et honorifice*" by Henry II., who gave him the rich Abbey of Abingdon to hold "*in commendam.*"^a But Archbishop Becket insisted that Godfrey should return to his see or resign it. He did neither until, at the Council of Westminster (1175), five years after Becket's death, "*nullo cogente,*" he resigned the see, delivering the pastoral staff and ring into the hands of Archbishop Richard, the successor of Becket.^b The clerks of St. Asaph had appealed to the archbishop, entreating that he would either compel Godfrey to return to his see, or provide them with a new pastor. Godfrey seems to have loved the plenty of Abingdon better than the poverty of Wales; but he did not keep his Abbey. That was given "*cuidam monacho;*" and what afterwards became of Bishop Godfrey is not known. During

^a '*Benedictus Abbas,*' ed. Stubbs, i. 90.

^b *Id. id.*

the same Council of Westminster Archbishop Richard consecrated as Bishop of St. Asaph

[A.D. 1175—1181.] ADAM, of whom little is recorded. He died at Oxford, and was buried in the church of the Augustinians at Oseney. It was during his episcopate that the dispute was at its highest between the sees of St. Asaph and St. David's respecting the limits of the diocese. A remarkable scene between Giraldus, acting as Archdeacon of Brecknock in the vacancy of the see of St. David's, and Bishop Adam of St. Asaph's, is described by Giraldus himself in his autobiography. ('De rebus a se gestis,' I. 6.) The church of Kerry, claimed by both, sustained a kind of ecclesiastical siege, and Bishop Adam was treated with much indignity by the vigorous archdeacon.

[A.D. 1183—1186.] JOHN.

[A.D. 1186—1224.] REINER. It was in his time (A.D. 1188) that Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by Giraldus, preached the crusade throughout Wales (see Part I. § 2). The great archiepiscopal train could not be housed at St. Asaph's. Baldwin, with all his company, slept at Rhuddlan,—where was already a castle of much importance, although the place had not yet acquired the size and strength given to it by Edward I. After saying mass in the Cathedral on the following morning they passed on through a rich mining district to Basingwerk.

[A.D. 1225—1233.] ABRAHAM.

[A.D. 1235—1240.] HUGH.

[A.D. 1240—1247.] HOWEL AP EDNEVET.

Of these bishops little or nothing is recorded. The Welsh church was, in the time of Bishop Howel, and probably of his predecessors, in miserable condition. The country itself, according to Matthew Paris, was desolate. "*Emarcuit antiqua eorum superba nobilitas, et etiam virorum ecclesiasticorum cythara conversa est in luctum et lamenta.*" The Bishops of St. Asaph and of Bangor

were compelled to leave their dioceses, which were wasted by fire and slaughter, and “mendicare ut de alieno viverent cogebantur.”ⁱ It is asserted that Bishop Howel died at Oxford in great poverty.^k

[A.D. 1249—1266.] ANIAN; of whom little is known. He was succeeded by

[A.D. 1267.] JOHN, who died in the same year, or the following. The next bishop

[A.D. 1268—1293.] ANIAN, was a person of much vigour and distinction. He is generally known as Anian Schonaw,—if this be not a corruption of *Nanneu*,—since, according to Godwin, his popular name was “Y brawd du o Nanneu”—the “black brother of Nanneu.” He was a Dominican, and the Confessor of Edward I., whom he accompanied to the Holy Land. The earlier period of his episcopate was a time of ceaseless tumult. In 1277, during the war of Edward with Llewellyn, certain soldiers of William of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, then stationed at Chester, plundered and burnt one of the bishop’s manors.^l Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to reprove them. In the same year the clerks of St. Asaph carried round a book of the Gospels, much revered on the Marches, to solicit alms for their church;^m and Bishop Anian wrote to the Provincial of the Dominicans (Friars preachers) in England, entreating the prayers of the Order for St. Asaph’s “quæ tot adversitates patitur his diebus . . . et jam remedium apponere non videatur esse in homine, sed in Deo.”ⁿ Before the outbreak of the war in 1282, Edward had rebuilt and greatly strengthened the town and castle of Rhuddlan, and propositions were made for removing the see of St. Asaph to that place, for the sake of greater security (see Part I. § 2). The Cathedral was burned in 1282. Bishop Anian fell into disgrace (for some unex-

ⁱ M. Paris, ed. Wats, p, 739.

^k ‘Annal. Wigorn.’

^l Haddan and Stubbs, i. 522.

^m Id. i. 523.

ⁿ Id. id.

plained reason,—probably from some supposed complicity with Llewellyn) with Edward I. He was driven from his see; and was not allowed to return until after the year 1284. A commission was issued to Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to take charge of the diocese during Anian's enforced absence. Archbishop Peckham was in Wales and at Rhuddlan in the latter part of the year 1282, endeavouring in vain to mediate between Edward and Llewellyn. In 1284 he visited the diocese of St. Asaph as metropolitan.

After his return Bishop Anian began the rebuilding of his Cathedral on the old site (see Part I. § 3). He recovered the patronage of many churches for his see.

The rebuilding of the Cathedral was, probably, continued during the episcopate of Anian's successor.

[A.D. 1293—1314.] LEOLINE OF BROMFIELD, or "Leoline (Llewellyn) ap Llewellyn ap Ynyr"—a Canon of the Cathedral. He confirmed the appropriations to the chapter, made by Anian, of the rectories of Lansilin and Rhuddlan; besides certain grants made to the Fabric. He rearranged the offices and choral discipline of his church after a fashion of which there were still some remains when Bishop Godwin wrote, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.* By his will he left plate, books, and vestments to the Cathedral, which he seems to have brought into some degree of order, after long confusion and neglect.

[A.D. 1315—1352.] DAVID AP BLETHYN, Canon of St. Asaph, probably completed the church begun by Bishop Anian. Little, however, is recorded of him.

* "In Liturgia Ecclesiæ suæ et chori disciplina cum plurima mutaverit, constitutiones ejus ea de re in hodiernum usque diem vim obtinent." Godwin 'de Præsul. Angliæ.' This book was published in 1601, in English. The Latin translation, by the Author, appeared in 1616.

The names of EPHRAIM, or ABRAHAM, and of HENRY, are placed by Godwin between the Bishops David and John Trevor. But there is no good authority for inserting them; and, at any rate, the see can only have been so filled for a few weeks. Since

[A.D. 1352—1357.] JOHN TREVOR was consecrated at Avignon in the year of Bishop David's death.

[A.D. 1357—1375.] LEOLINE AP MADOC was also consecrated at Avignon.

[A.D. 1376—1382.] WILLIAM OF SPRIDLINGTON, Dean of St. Asaph. It was during his episcopate that the working of the "Red Quarry," from which the Cathedral was built, was changed for an annual rent (see Part I. § 5). Bishop Spridlington's will provides that he shall be buried in the choir of his Cathedral, "*ad caput australe magni altaris, sub basso lapide, concordante cum pavimento.*"

[A.D. 1382—1389.] LAURENCE CHILD, a monk of Battle, succeeded. He was buried in the choir, before the high altar, "*sub pedibus capellani ubi celebrare solet.*"

[A.D. 1390—1395.] ALEXANDER BACHE, a Dominican.

[A.D. 1395—1410.] JOHN TREVOR, the second of the name, succeeded. He pronounced sentence of deposition against Richard II., in 1399 (Richard being then within his diocese in Flint Castle), and was afterwards sent ambassador to Spain, to justify the proceedings of Henry IV. Owen Glendower, seemingly on account of this bishop's Lancastrian zeal, burnt his Cathedral and his palace; and Trevor, "to ingratiate himself with him," revolted to his party, and held with him during his insurrection. He was accordingly deprived of his see; and in 1402 a certain DAVID was nominated to it. A letter of Henry IV. to Edward Charlton, Lord Powys, written in 1409, mentions "*Owynus de Glandourdy et Johannes (Trevor) qui se pretendit Episcopum Assavensem,—proditores et rebelles nostri.*"^p

[A.D. 1411—1433.] ROBERT LANCASTER.

[A.D. 1433—trans. to Rochester 1444.] JOHN LOWE, was a very learned Austin Friar in the convent at Droitwich, and became Provincial of his order, and Prior of the Austin Friars in London. He was the first bishop ever translated from this see. A letter from him, as bishop elect, to the Prior of Canterbury, about his consecration, mentions St. Asaph “in the March of Wales”—“ad quem indignus et inexpertus auriga evocor.”

[A.D. 1444—trans. to Chichester 1450.] REGINALD PEACOCK. For a sketch of the life of this most remarkable man, see ‘Chichester Cathedral,’ Part II. His famous book ‘The Repressor of over much blaming of the Clergy,’ was set forth in 1449, while he was still presiding over the see of St. Asaph. He procured a release of the rent due to the Crown from Granatemoore, belonging to the see,—with special reference to the ruined condition of the Palace and of the Cathedral. The former had been entirely destroyed, and the roofs of the latter had been burnt by Glendower,—and they had not as yet been renewed.

[A.D. 1451—1471.] THOMAS KNIGHT. He was a great Lancastrian, and was active against Edward IV., who seems to have deposed him. A writ was issued, March 11, 1465, to Richard Canton, LL.D., giving him the custody of the temporalities “ratione rebellionis Thomae nuper episcopi ibidem” (‘Fœdera,’ II.),—and there are similar grants to others. But in 1469, on the re-establishment for a time of Henry VI., Bishop Thomas was summoned to attend Parliament, which he did. Afterwards Edward IV. convicted him of treason, and he was compelled to resign.

[A.D. 1471, trans. to Exeter 149 $\frac{5}{6}$.] RICHARD REDMAN succeeded; a man of considerable learning and liberality, who did much for his Cathedral. He was Abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Shap in Westmorland, and Visitor General of his Order throughout the king's do-

minions. This dignity, with his Abbacy, he held during his tenure of the see of St. Asaph. He restored the church from the ruined condition in which it had remained since the raid of Owen Glendower, putting on new roofs, and refitting the choir, on the old stalls of which his coat of arms remained. He also placed a large Perpendicular window at the east end (see Part I. § 3).

Bishop Redman was sent on many embassies by Edward IV. and Richard III. On the accession of Henry VII., who discountenanced the friends of the House of York, the bishop fell under the Royal displeasure; and he took part with the Bishops of Ireland in setting up Lambert Simnel. For this, in 1487, he was censured by the Pope; and would have been deprived of his see had he not submitted himself on Simnel's detection. He was then received with favour by Henry, who sent him ambassador to Scotland in 1493, and afterwards removed him first to Exeter (1495), and then to Ely (1501), where he died in 1505. His monument remains in that Cathedral. His successor at St. Asaph was

[A.D. 1496—1500.] MICHAEL DEACON, the King's Confessor.

[A.D. 1500—1503.] DAVID AP YORWERTH. Abbot of Valle Crucis.

[A.D. 1504—1513.] DAVID AP OWEN, also Abbot of Valle Crucis. From the time of the burning by Owen Glendower the episcopal palace at St. Asaph had not been restored; and the bishops of that see (like those of Bangor) had lived for the most part out of their dioceses. David ap Owen began the rebuilding of the palace at St. Asaph.

[A.D. 1513—1518.] EDMUND BIRKHEAD.

[A.D. 1518—1535.] HENRY STANDISH; a Minorite Friar; a vigorous supporter of Rome; and an advocate of Queen Catherine in the question of the divorce. In 1523 he went as ambassador into Denmark. By his will he left 40*l.* to the Cathedral "*pro pavimento chori et ceteris necessariis.*"

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1534 makes the bishopric of St. Asaph worth in clear 187*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

[A.D. 1536—trans. to Hereford 1554.] ROBERT WHARTON, or PARFEW. On the death of Bishop Standish WILLIAM BARLOW had been appointed and consecrated (Feb. 22, 1535) to the see of St. Asaph; but in the following April he was translated to St. David's. Bishop Wharton, who succeeded, had been Abbot of Bermondsey, and held that office in commendam with his bishopric. He affected much episcopal state and hospitality; living for the most part at Denbigh or Wrexham; and anticipated the revenue of the see to such an extent that he reduced it to extreme poverty.

[A.D. 1555—trans. 1558.] THOMAS GOLDWELL. He was the single English bishop present at the Council of Trent, the decrees of which he subscribed. In the last year of Queen Mary he was translated to Oxford,—but in 1559, on the accession of Elizabeth, he left England a voluntary exile, and never returned. He died, and was buried at Rome in 1581. It was in 1562 that he attended the Tridentine Council.

[A.D. 1560—trans. to St. David's 1561.] RICHARD DAVIES. He had been in exile during the reign of Queen Mary.

[A.D. 1561—1573.] THOMAS DAVIS.

[A.D. 1573—1600.] WILLIAM HUGHES.

[A.D. 1601—1604.] WILLIAM MORGAN; trans. from Llandaff. He was the first translator of the Bible into Welsh (see Llandaff, Part II.).

[A.D. 1604—1623.] RICHARD PARRY, Dean of Bangor. "Bishop Godwin," says Fuller, "passeth on him this complement (take it in the best derivation of the word from *completio mentis*) that he desireth, being so near unto him in time and his studies, to be his equal in other Episcopal qualities."

[A.D. 1624—1629.] JOHN HANMER; Fellow of All Souls and Prebendary of Worcester.

[A.D. 1629—d. 1651.] JOHN OWEN, Archdeacon of St. Asaph,

had been chaplain to Charles I. when Prince of Wales. He was, at any rate, a good Welsh scholar, if not a Welshman, and established preaching in Welsh in the parish church of St. Asaph. He "made a neat wainscoat pulpit in the Cathedral, fixed seats and forms to hear divine service, set up the great organ" (see Part I. § 2) "and repaired the steeple and belfry, making them new with boards." He was a great sufferer by the Rebellion. His church lands were sold, his palace taken possession of, and the Cathedral desecrated (Part I. § 3). Bishop Owen was buried under the episcopal throne, without any inscription or monument.

[A.D. 1660—1666.] GEORGE GRIFFITH was consecrated to the see after the Restoration.

[A.D. 1667—1670.] HENRY GLEMHAM, Dean of Bristol.

[A.D. 1670—1680.] ISAAC BARROW; trans. from Sodor and Man. He was a member of an old Suffolk family, and the uncle of Isaac Barrow, the celebrated divine. He had been a Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; was expelled during the troubles of the Civil War; on the Restoration was made a Fellow of Eton, and was appointed to the see of Sodor and Man in 1663. Thence he was translated to St. Asaph. He founded here a hospital for eight poor widows. His tomb, and the inscription on it, are described in Part I. § 13.

[A.D. 1680—trans. to Lichfield 1692.] WILLIAM LLOYD, Dean of Bangor. He was one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower by James II. From Lichfield he passed to Worcester in 1699, and died in 1717. He was a man of considerable learning, and the patron of Henry Wharton, editor of the 'Anglia Sacra.' The records of the Bishops of St. Asaph's, undertaken at Bishop Lloyd's special request, were published separately (see Part I. note 1).

[A.D. 1692—1703.] EDWARD JONES; trans. from Cloyne.

[A.D. 1703—trans. to Bath 1704.] GEORGE HOOPER, Dean of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1704—1708.] WILLIAM BEVERIDGE; whose name is still held in reverence. He was born at Barrow, in Leicestershire, in 1638, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became a learned orientalist. In 1661 he was presented to the vicarage of Ealing in Middlesex, but resigned that on becoming, in the following year, rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill. Here his devoted zeal, and the earnestness of his "discourses," were speedily recognized; and he became known as "the great reviver and restorer of primitive piety." Hinchman, Bishop of London, made him a prebendary of St. Paul's in 1674; and his successor, Bishop Compton, gave him the Arch-deaconry of Colchester, 1681. In 1684 he was appointed to a prebendal stall in Canterbury Cathedral, and was also made chaplain to William and Mary. He refused to accept the see of Bath and Wells, which was offered to him on the deprivation of Ken,—since he did not choose to intrude himself during the lifetime of that prelate; but in 1704 he was consecrated to the see of St. Asaph. Three years afterwards he died, and was buried in St. Paul's, London. It is believed that he lived much at Colfryn in Llansaintffraid yn Mechain, County Montgomery; and that he composed at that place many of his later works.

The works of this excellent bishop which are best remembered are—'The Church Catechism explained for the use of the Diocese of St. Asaph'—published on his first coming to the see in 1704; and his 'Private Thoughts on Religion;' 'Private Thoughts on a Christian Life;' and the 'Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer and frequent Communion,'—all published after his death. His 'Exposition of the 39 Articles,' and his Sermons, were also printed after his death—the former in 1710, the latter in 1708.

[A.D. 1708—trans. to Ely 1714.] WILLIAM FLEETWOOD. He paved the Cathedral of St. Asaph, and "laid out 100*l.* in adorning and painting the choir throughout."

- [A.D. 1715—trans. to Bath 1727.] JOHN WYNNE, rector of Jesus College, Oxford. He laid out “near 400*l.* on his Cathedral soon after his accession.”
- [A.D. 1727—trans. to Chichester 1731.] FRANCIS HARE, Dean of St. Paul’s.
- [A.D. 1732—1735.] THOMAS TANNER, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, where he was buried. Bishop Tanner was an antiquary of considerable learning; and his ‘*Notitia Monastica*,’ first published in 1695 (8vo), and much enlarged in 1744 (folio), is still a work of authority. His large MS. collections are preserved in the Bodleian. His portrait was engraved by Vertue in 1736, at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries.
- [A.D. 1736—trans. to Worcester 1743.] ISAAC MADDON; author of a ‘*Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England*, established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.’
- [A.D. 1744—trans. to Norwich 1748.] SAMUEL LISLE.
- [A.D. 1748—trans. to Salisbury 1761.] ROBERT HAY DRUMMOND. In the same year he passed to York.
- [A.D. 1761—1769.] RICHARD NEWCOME; translated from Llandaff.
- [A.D. 1769—1788.] JONATHAN SHIPLEY; trans. from Llandaff. He had acted as chaplain general to the army, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, in 1744 and 1745. It was in his time that a great part of the choir was rebuilt (Part I. § 3).
- [A.D. 1789—1790.] SAMUEL HALLIFAX; translated from Gloucester. He was the first bishop translated from an English see to St. Asaph, and the second translated to any see in North Wales.
- [A.D. 1790—1802.] LEWIS BAGOT, translated from Norwich. In 1783 he had passed from Bristol to Norwich. The present palace was, for the most part, built by Bishop Bagot.
- [A.D. 1802—1806.] SAMUEL HORSLEY; translated from

Rochester; to which see he had passed in 1793 from St. David's. This was the famous opponent of Dr. Priestley, with whom he maintained a long controversy in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

[A.D. 1806—1815.] WILLIAM CLEAVER; translated from Bangor; to which see he had passed in 1800 from Chester.

[A.D. 1815—1830.] JOHN LUXMOORE; translated from Hereford; whither he had passed from Bristol in 1808.

[A.D. 1830—1846.] WILLIAM CAREY; translated from Exeter.

[A.D. 1846—1870.] THOMAS VOWLER SHORT; translated from Sodor and Man.

[A.D. 1870— .] JOSHUA HUGHES.

BANGOR CATHEDRAL.



PART I.

History and Details.^a

I. THE history of Bangor Cathedral runs nearly parallel with that of St. Asaph. Both churches suffered greatly during the war between Edward I. and Llewellyn, and again at the beginning of the fifteenth century during the rebellion of Owen Glendower. After the first calamity both were rebuilt; after the second both lay waste for some time; and Bangor, which had undergone far more complete destruction than St. Asaph, was again rebuilt in the late Perpendicular period, taking that general architectural character which it retained until the restoration still (1873) in progress under the care of Sir G. G. Scott. This was plain and not very inte-

^a There is no documentary evidence for the history of Bangor Cathedral, and but scanty notices of it at any period. Browne Willis's 'Survey' of the Cathedral, published in 1721, contains nearly all that is known relating to the see. In the 'Archæologia Cambrensis' (new series), vol. i. p. 188 (1850), will be found a paper with the initials H. L. J., in which the Cathedral, as it then existed, is well and carefully described. The two reports of Sir G. G. Scott—the first made in 1866, before the restoration was begun—the second in 1870, after the transepts had been completed—are of the highest interest and value.

resting; and the internal fittings, much damaged and altered during this long interval, were of the most wretched description. Thus, wrote Sir Gilbert Scott, in his first report, "while the neighbourhood has been constantly increasing in wealth, while it has become the resort of tourists from every part of the kingdom, and has become possessed (to facilitate the vast amount of traffic which passes through it) of some of the greatest wonders of modern engineering art,—its Cathedral has gradually sunk into such low estate as to become almost a bye-word,—no Cathedral in the United Kingdom being equal to it in meanness."

II. The earlier changes of the building, and the discoveries which have influenced the present restoration, must be described at length.

The see of Bangor was probably founded by Deiniol or Daniel, who was the first recorded bishop, and who died A.D. 584 (see Part II.). The Welsh chroniclers, who alone mention the Welsh wars and expeditions of Eadgar, assert that when he advanced to Bangor in 975, he built there a church "on the north side of the Cathedral," and at no great distance from it. This church is said to have served as the parish church until the reign of Henry VII.; and the mention of the Cathedral in connection with it is the earliest reference to the existence of such a building. According to the same authorities the Cathedral of Bangor was destroyed by a Norman army in 1071. It had been rebuilt, however, before 1211, when a

portion of King John's army, encamped on the Conway River, advanced to Bangor, burnt the city, and carried off from before the high altar of the Cathedral Bishop Robert of Shrewsbury, who was not released until he had paid a ransom of two hundred hawks. The church at this time was a Norman structure. Of the building which it had replaced we know nothing. The Norman church (in which Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, celebrated mass, when preaching the crusade through Wales in 1188, and in which, on that occasion, Gwiawn, Bishop of Bangor, assumed the cross—see § xiv. and Part II.) was destroyed during the Welsh wars of Edward I.; and most probably in the year 1282, when the Cathedral of St. Asaph was burnt.^b In June, 1284, John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, being then at Bangor, issued a writ to the Prior of Rhuddlan and certain other churchmen, directing them to inquire into the

^b The exact year of the destruction is not recorded. The diocese had been wasted by war in 1248, when the Bishop fled to the hospitable Abbey of St. Alban's; but it does not appear that the Cathedral suffered at that time. It can hardly have been injured in 1261, when Anian of St. Asaph's, and other bishops, acted as arbitrators between the Bishop of Bangor and Llewellyn. They mention acts of sacrilege in the destruction of some churches, but say nothing of Bangor Cathedral. (Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils,' i. p. 489). Nor can it have been destroyed in 1267, when Bishop Richard, wearied with many troubles, prayed that the Pope, Clement IV., would allow him to resign. He mentions many causes of distress, but he does not, as he certainly would have done had it then occurred, refer to the burning of his Cathedral. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 469.) It seems most probable that Bangor suffered in the same year as St. Asaph.

damage done to the Welsh churches during the war, and to report thereon to the King and to himself.^c Their report has not been preserved: but late in the same year, Anian, Bishop of Bangor, gave a receipt to the Commissioners for a sum of 250*l.* paid to him as compensation for injuries sustained by the see (*pro dampnis nobis illatis in ultima guerra*).^d Anian of Bangor was high in the favour of Edward I. In April of this year (1284) he had baptized at Carnarvon the infant Prince of Wales, born within his diocese; and certain manors in the counties of Carnarvon and of Anglesey had been granted to him by the King.^e He seems to have found, or supplied, at once the means for rebuilding his Cathedral, to which he applied himself vigorously. The work must have been still in progress in 1291; when a diocesan synod convened by the Bishop assembled, not in the Cathedral, but in the adjoining parish church of St. Mary's of Garthbranan.^f That Bishop Anian did not confine his attention to the fabric of his church is proved by his care for her services. It was he who drew up the

^c Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 558; and Rymer, i. 644. Archbishop Peckham had been visiting the dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor as Metropolitan.

^d Haddan and Stubbs, i. 581.

^e The Manors of Bangor, Castellmay, and Garthgogo, county Carnarvon; and of Cantred and Treffos, in Anglesey.—Browne Willis.

^f Haddan and Stubbs, i. 597. The Synod is described as "*celebrata in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Garthbranan apud Bangoriam toto clero diocesis Bangorensis ad hoc convocato*"

Missale or Pontificale “in usum Ecclesiæ Bancho-rens;” thus providing a “use of Bangor,” as there were “uses” of Hereford, Salisbury, and York.

III. Bishop Anian seems to have rebuilt his Cathedral almost from the ground.* The work must have been carried on after his death in 1305, since the existing walls of the nave aisles date from about 1350. But there is no further mention of the Cathedral until in the year 1404 it was again burnt by the wild troops of Owen Glendower, — Welshmen themselves destroying one of the most ancient of Welsh sanctuaries. The destruction of Bangor must have been far more complete than that of St. Asaph. In the latter church the roofs alone can have perished; the walls now standing are, almost throughout, those of the earlier structure. But at Bangor the church was, for the most part, rebuilt. St. Asaph remained in a ruined condition until Bishop Redman (1471–1496) restored the roofs. Bangor was rebuilt, the choir by Bishop *Deane* (1496–1500); the nave and transepts by Bishop *Skevington*, or *Skirrington* (1509–1533); who also built the western tower, which (as appears from the date remaining on it) was completed in the year before his death. Like all the earlier builders Bishop Deane and Bishop Skevington regarded but lightly the works of their predecessors. It is possible that the clerestory win-

* A Norman fragment was allowed to remain in the south wall of the chancel; and in one or two places Norman work was made to form the core of Decorated masonry. (See § VI.)

dows of the nave may have formed part of the earlier church ; but, if so, they must have been removed and replaced, and, on the whole, this amount of care seems improbable. The walls of the nave aisles survived the fire. The beautiful work of the time of Edward I., which was, no doubt, in a ruined condition, was altogether disregarded in the rebuilding ; and its shattered fragments were built into the new walls in every direction. The only portion of Anian's church which remained visible were certain external buttresses on the front of the North Transept.

Bishop *Bulkeley*, who presided over the see during the troubled years between 1542 and 1553, sold "sundry of the church ornaments"—mitres, copes, and chalices—and possibly disposed in the same manner of some of the bells (see Part II.). He admits in his will that he had a sum of money in his keeping "of the church goods;" and by the advice of Doctor Glynn and others of the canons, "he did fully bestow the same and much more in the repairs of the church." The nave and transepts appear to have been ceiled with timber by Bishop *Rowlands* (1598-1616); whose name, with the date 1611, was to be seen on the beams of each ceiling when Browne Willis drew up his account of the Cathedral.^b The Cathedral, like that of St. Asaph,

^b This was printed in 1721. The double Monument of Bishops Vaughan and Rowlands, with "busts from the waist"—"their heads beaten off in time of the rebellion"—then remained at the east end of the choir. The inscription ran—"Pie memorie duorum Episcoporum in hac ecclesia proxime succedentium—qui

suffered greatly during the Civil War. All the wood-work of the interior was then destroyed, and the stained glass was shattered; although some fragmentary figures of saints and bishops remained in the great east window for Browne Willis to notice; besides portions in other windows of the choir, with a prayer "pro bono statu Magistri Kiffin Decani," and of Maurice Bangor, Canon of Castle Keby. After the Restoration the church was refitted; and the stalls of the choir were possibly at that time brought down so as to occupy two bays of the nave. Browne Willis describes the church as "very lightsome, and the nave and pillars appear very clean. The floor of the nave is well flagged," except a void space about twenty-one feet eastward of the tower, "where some ordinary folks are commonly buried." "The roof is covered throughout with lead, and cieled within with timber. In the ceiling of the nave are nine beams well wrought, and beautified with carved work. The cielings of the side aisles are firm but plain: the floors of earth, being left so for conveniency of burial." Willis's examination of the church was made before a restoration of the great east window—which, it is known, was effected early in the eighteenth century (see § XII.).

IV. If the Cathedral had remained in this condition it would have been poor enough. But in this

fuerunt contigue nati, coetanei, sibi invicem cari, condiscipuli, consanguinei. . . . Mutuo amore alter utrique hoc struxit monumentum. 1606."

lowest depth there was a lower still. The roof of the nave was altered during the episcopate of Bishop *Cleaver* (1800–1806), and all its carved work was destroyed. A repair of the fabric was undertaken between the years 1824 and 1827. The stalls were then swept away; and, in the words of Sir Gilbert Scott, “the most execrable jimcrack substituted that ever disgraced a church.”ⁱ The carved roofs described by Browne Willis were replaced by plain deal: and a heavy closed screen carrying the organ loft was constructed, entirely separating the nave from the choir. The latter was used exclusively for English services. The Welsh congregation, driven from the worthiest portion of their own Cathedral, were treated like Willis’s “ordinary folks,” and an occasional service in their native tongue was provided for them in the nave. This was the condition of Bangor until Sir Gilbert Scott, in the year 1866, was requested by the Dean and Chapter to report on it. It should be said that although the sinecure of Llandinam, worth 172*l.* a year, was appropriated as an endowment for the repair of the choir, by Act of Parliament in 1685, this proved of so little use for securing that repair permanently, that “up to the year 1855 the only fund which the Dean and Chapter possessed for that, and every other purpose in connection with the Fabric, was a sum of 60*l.* a year.”^k

ⁱ ‘First Report.’

^k This is stated in an appeal from the Dean and Chapter on behalf of the restoration.

V. Sir Gilbert Scott, in his first report (1866), describes the Cathedral as having externally "the appearance of a large, but unambitious and somewhat uninteresting parish church; and the same would be the case within were it not for the unhappy attempt to assist its Cathedral character by the absurd process of cutting it in two."¹ After dwelling at some length on the buttresses of the South Transept, "the solitary evidence remaining of the character of the older church" (as then appeared), and referring to the existing proofs of the ancient extent of the choir and the position of the stalls, he suggested two courses,—either of which might be followed in the restoration. (1) The works "might be limited to the thorough reparation of the fabric"—as it then stood—"with the worthy fitting up and seemly decoration of its interior;" or (2) to such a reparation might be added "the restoration or partial reconstruction of the choir, the transepts, and the chapter room in such a style as is indicated by their few remaining early fragments"—a scheme which might be crowned by the addition of a fine central tower, such as, there was reason to believe, had before existed, or had at least been prepared for. This second course involved (as it was then thought) a certain amount of historical loss, and would be a departure from the conservative line of treatment usually contended for by Sir G. G. Scott.

¹ Storer ('Cathedrals,' 1814) says that the Cathedral "would appear to assimilate with the ancient, unostentatious manners of the inhabitants; firm, though unassuming; respectable, but unadorned."

But the special circumstances of the case—the rude existing Perpendicular work, and the beauty of the Decorated fragments then visible—seemed to warrant its adoption.

VI. Accordingly, and, as the event has proved, most happily, the Dean and Chapter determined to adopt it; and the first contract, for the restoration of the North and South Transepts, and for the construction of the central tower to the ridge of the roof, at a cost of 10,477*l.*, was at once undertaken; the sum being raised by subscription in the diocese and Principality. This determination led necessarily to the thorough examination of the transept walls and of other portions of the building. The walls (as had been the case at St. David's and elsewhere) proved to be rich mines of *débris*; and afforded wrought stones, which, by patient study, and a skill such as that by which palæontologists are enabled to reconstruct the skeleton of an entire animal from a mere fragment of its structure, were made to disclose, with tolerable certainty, a large portion of the design of the transepts, and parts even of that of the chancel,—as they stood when completed in the days of Bishop Anian. Thus, although the late Perpendicular work has disappeared from the transepts, the reconstruction at Bangor is a true restoration; bringing back the eastern portion of the church to its earlier and far more beautiful condition; every ancient fragment, so far as was possible, having been carefully worked into the new structure, and made to assume in it the

same place which it held in the walls of the Decorated church.

The results of this examination are described and illustrated in Sir Gilbert Scott's second report (1870). "This exhuming and restoring to their places," he writes in 1869, "the fragments of the beautiful work of the thirteenth century—reduced to ruin by Owen Glendower; used as mere rough material by Henry VII.; and rediscovered by us four and a half centuries after their reduction to ruin—is one of the most interesting facts I have met with in the course of my experience."^m In the course of the examination, besides obtaining evidence of the design of the work of the time of Edward I., much light was thrown on the ground plan and construction of the earlier Norman church. The only remains of that structure which were visible were limited to a small portion of the south wall of the chancel, where a walled-up Norman window was to be distinguished, and, east of it, a narrow Norman buttress. On cutting into the wall east of this buttress, its eastern face was found to continue directly into the thickness of the wall, showing that all eastward of it was a later addition: and the foundations of a Norman apse were afterwards discovered springing from the buttress. The Norman Cathedral thus terminated eastward in a semicircular apse, and was considerably shorter than the present building. A Norman base-course was

^m Letter to the Clerk of the Works, printed in an address of the Dean and Chapter.

found to extend westward from the buttress for some feet, until cut off by the insertion of a fourteenth century tomb. It reappeared in the east wall of the South Transept, and continued to within twelve feet of the present extent of the transept, where it turned inward, showing the Norman Transept to have been twelve feet shorter than the present one. And, on excavating internally on the sites of the four great piers of the crossing, below the bases of the fourteenth century piers (also discovered) those of the Norman piers were found. They had recessed angles, giving a double break; and among the *débris* in the walls occurred a portion of a Norman shaft, carved with zigzag ornaments, which possibly stood in one of these resalient angles; the back of the shaft being square, as if to fit into a nook. The general limits of the eastern half of the Norman church have thus been exactly determined.

VII. It will be better to describe the discoveries relating to the Decorated period in examining those portions of the Cathedral to which they belong. But without such a notice as has here been given, of the successive changes and increasing degradation undergone by the church, it would be impossible to appreciate fairly the knowledge and patient skill which have been brought to bear on the present restoration. The stranger who now enters Bangor Cathedral can have but an imperfect idea of the meanness, the gloom, and the dirt from which it has happily been delivered under the auspices of Sir Gilbert Scott. Llandaff has

been transformed from a neglected ruin to a church of the highest beauty and interest. St. David's, for a long period almost unknown, has recovered much of its ancient dignity. Bangor is in itself less important and less interesting than either of these churches; far less so, of course, than St. David's, which is one of the most remarkable structures in Great Britain. But the restoration here is, in some respects, more striking. It is no small triumph to have brought again to light so much of the design of Bishop Anian's church, of which but the merest fragment was apparently in existence; and to have rendered once more legible the most interesting chapter in the history of Bangor Cathedral.

VIII. Bangor (*see the Frontispiece*), like the other Welsh Cathedrals, except St. Asaph, stands on low ground. The churchyard surrounding it is bordered by fine sycamores and horse chestnuts, which give some picturesque character to the general view. But this is nowhere good. The city itself lies in a hollow. Steep hills rise about it on all sides; and although fine views are commanded from these hills, overlooking Bangor, in which the Cathedral is conspicuous, a nearer prospect, displaying it to any great advantage, is not to be obtained. The ground plan has in no respect been altered by the restoration. It consists of western tower, nave, and aisles, a central tower,ⁿ with North and South Tran-

ⁿ The central tower is now (1873) rising. Whether one existed anciently is not quite certain. But the ground plan has not been altered.

septs, and choir, with an addition on the south side, consisting of a muniment room with a chapter room above. On the east side of the South Transept the foundations of an additional building have been discovered, which it is proposed to restore eventually. With the exception of this addition, and of the western tower (also an addition to the plan of the Decorated church), the ground plan is precisely that of St. Asaph; the destroyed chapter house in that Cathedral answering in position to the muniment and chapter rooms here.

The *Western Tower*, at present the most striking external feature of the church, is, as has been said, the work of Bishop Skevington (1509–1533). It rises in three stages, with diagonal buttresses of six stages each. The arch of the doorway, under a square label, is plain but unusually graceful. A window of three lights, with a deeply hollowed moulding, and with plain Perpendicular tracery in the head of the arch, is on the west front in the stage immediately above the doorway. On the stringcourse under the window runs the inscription,—“Thomas Skevynton episcopus Bangorie hoc campanele (*sic*) et ecclesiam fieri fecit, A° Partus Virginei 1532.” The third, or belfry stage of the tower, has a window of three lights on each side. A battlement with gurgoyles and crocketed pinnacles rises above this stage. The entire height is 60 feet.

IX. The tower opens through a lofty arch to the *nave* (Plate I.), which until the restoration was cut across

at the fourth bay from the west by the heavy organ loft, but has now regained its full extent of six bays. The length, from the tower to the central crossing, is 114 feet. The arcade, at any rate, is Perpendicular, and the whole, no doubt, represents the "ecclesia" built by Bishop Skevington. The arches are widely spaced, four-centred, of two orders, with hollow chamfers and discontinuous imposts. The piers are octagonal, with bases of three stages. In each aisle are six windows, each of three lights. Those in the north aisle are all distinctly Perpendicular in their tracery, though the jambs are, perhaps, of earlier date. Those in the south aisle have their heads occupied by three quatrefoiled circles, and are of Decorated character. There is a tradition that all the windows of the nave were brought from the ancient parish church of St. Mary's, Garthbrennan, which stood in the Bishop's grounds, north-east of the Cathedral, and which was pulled down early in the sixteenth century. If this was really the case the heads of the windows in the north aisle must have been altered. But it is certain that the walls of the nave belonged to the church in existence before Glendower's time, and that they survived the destruction of the arcade. The clerestory windows are of triple lights, without foliations. The modern roofs of both nave and aisles are at present (1873) plain and rude. But the restoration will in due time extend to them. No other change is contemplated in this part of the Cathedral.

In the second bay from the west, north and south, are plain Perpendicular doorways.

The font, of late but good work, is octangular with enriched panels. On the shaft are shields.

X. From the nave we pass at once into the restored, and, it may be said, rediscovered, portion of the church.

The *transepts*, which open north and south from the central tower, are of no great depth. Before the restoration they seemed, on the interior, to be entirely Perpendicular, except in the jambs of the two great windows, where some mouldings of earlier character were visible. Each of these windows (at the north and south ends of the transept) were four-centred, of five lights without foliations, and with vertical tracery in the heads. They were “so similar to those in the collegiate church of Clynnog fawr that they be conjectured to have been erected by the same architect; and it is by no means improbable that Bishop Skevington employed for his work whoever it was that erected that more stately pile to the south of Carnarvon.”^o The walls of the transepts were, however, in dangerous condition. It was necessary that large portions of them should be taken down and rebuilt; and in them were discovered many fragments of the earlier windows,—proving that the rebuilders of the time of Henry VII., “with their customary disregard

^o H. L. J.—in ‘Arch. Cambrensis’ (New Series), vol. i.

of the works of their predecessors, threw the details of the older architect into the walls as mere material unworthy of notice.”^p The Perpendicular work was not very good or very interesting; and it was determined to replace the Decorated windows of which so many portions had been found. The remains discovered of the *South* window agreed precisely with the portions *in situ*,—the lower parts of the jambs and the cill. “But those which formed parts of the *North* window showed that the existing jambs had been refixed and displaced; that the width was not that of the original window; that the jambs had been turned inside out, and that one member had been cut away to suit a wall four inches thinner than the old one.”^q

“As regards the *South* window” (it is best to quote the exact words of Sir G. G. Scott)—“the jambs being in their old places—the first question was how many lights it had had. One side of one of the arches was found incorporated with a part of the circle of the tracery. The width of this seemed to indicate a window of *five* lights, yet we could not make it fit. In time, however, we discovered a fragment which proved that instead of *one* window of *five* lights there had been *two* windows of *two* lights, each with circles in the heads; and, this fact proved, all became easy. But what was there to fill up the space over these two windows? We found a large circle with nine cusps,

^p Sir G. G. Scott. ‘Second Report.’

^q *Id. id.*, p. 21.

and with fragments of the moulded orders which surrounded it, just agreeing with the space to be filled, and with the thickness of the wall. This we have, with confidence, placed over the two windows, and thus perfected this group.”^r (Plate II.)

The *North* window proved to have been *one* window of *four* lights (Plate III.). Extensive remains of the mullions were found, including the upper stones both of the central mullion and the jambs, each with carved capitals. Springers of the tracery arches, “beautiful mouldings enriched with the dog-tooth,” were also found; besides portions of the cusped tracery circles. And, “although the jambs which had been re-used had been cropped in their thickness to suit a reduced wall, we found many portions of unmutilated jamb stones which showed us their true size.”^s The windows, thus happily restored, possess all the grace and beauty of proportion which distinguish the best works of the Early Decorated period. Portions of a third window were also found, which was possibly the east window of the choir.

The arches opening from the nave aisles to the transepts have been restored in accordance with the many fragments of them discovered in the walls. The lower parts of their jambs were found *in situ*. The levels of the ancient floors, both of the Norman and Decorated buildings, were much lower than those of the Perpendicular rebuilding, “while, oddly

^r Sir G. G. Scott. ‘Second Report,’ p. 24.

^s *Id. id.*

enough, the floor of the north transept was considerably lower than that of the south transept."† In restoring the arch opening to the north transept some alteration was necessary, since the old difference of level could not be retained.

In the east wall of each transept was a similar but wider arch, which has been carefully restored. That in the north transept opened to the vestibule of the muniment room; that in the south to a large chapel or double sacristy, the foundations of which have been discovered, but which as yet has not been rebuilt (see ground-plan). The transept arch, although restored, has accordingly been walled up for the present.

XI. The piers and arches of the *great crossing* (now the *central tower*) were, when Browne Willis wrote, of Decorated character,—portions, of course, of Bishop Anian's church. The arches were of three orders; the piers had imbedded shafts. These arches were removed about the year 1824 (when the organ screen—*ante*, § IV.—was constructed), and were replaced by four-centred arches, at the height of the clerestory, and resting on corbels. The low and massive character of the earlier piers and arches suggested to Willis that they were designed to carry a central tower; and the examination which has now been made proves that he was correct. Below the bases of the fifteenth century piers were found those of the Norman piers,—proving that the ground plan of the two

† Id. id.

buildings was in this portion identical. The responds of the thirteenth century piers were placed in advance of the older Norman responds. The thirteenth century work (destroyed in 1824) had clustered shafts on the north, south, and east. The responds of the western arch were vast semicircular piers. Fragments of all these, as well as of the arches which they carried, have been found; and the present piers and arches have been re-erected in accordance with them, but with some additional strength, necessary for the support of the tower which will eventually be raised on them.

The addition of this tower (now only carried as high as the roof line) will give much increased dignity and Cathedral character to the church. There is a blind arcade in the stage above the tower arches. The architectural arrangement of a central and western towers, in line, unsupported and unflanked by others, is unusual; but it was formerly to be found at Hereford and at Ely. At Wymondham, in Norfolk, the two towers—one of which is, indeed, a shell—still remain; and there are still two at Wimborne Minster.

In the corner of the south aisle of the nave, adjoining the south-west pier of the crossing, was discovered "an old respond *in situ*, belonging to an earlier *nave arcade* than that now existing. It is rather a rich clustered pier, probably of the fourteenth century; and its position shows the older nave to have been some three feet wider across from pillar to pillar than the present one."

“Fragments of pillars and arches, also of the fourteenth century, but differing from these, were found while underpinning the foundations of these parts. This nave must have been the latest part of the old church, agreeing in style with the present outer walls, and was of no great age when Owen Glendower burned the Cathedral.”^a

XII. The architectural history of the *eastern arm* of the church is sufficiently clear. It has already been mentioned that foundations of the Norman apse have been discovered, springing from the Norman buttress still remaining in the south wall. This eastern termination of the Norman church was of no great length. It formed, of course, the presbytery, with the high altar; and the choir, as in most churches of its date, was placed under the central tower, and perhaps extended westward into the nave. It would seem that this apse was found short and inconvenient before the rebuilding under Bishop Anian; since, in the south wall of the extended building, the jambs of two lancet windows have been found, which, in Sir G. Scott's opinion, are “too plain to form a part of the beautiful work of the time of Edward I.” However this may be, the eastern arm of the church, as it existed in the Decorated period, was prolonged to nearly double the extent of the Norman apse. Its termination was square; and on the north side, parallel with it, extended a range of building (muniment room

^a Scott's ‘Second Report.’

and chapter house), to which the principal entrance was from the North Transept. The ground plan, in fact, was precisely what it is at present. The stalls of the choir, at this time, occupied the same position as in the Norman church—they were below the tower, while the structural choir formed the sanctuary. Bishop *Deane* (1496–1500) restored (it may more properly be said rebuilt) the presbytery after the destruction by Owen Glendower. In this restoration a portion of the south side of the Norman apse was allowed to remain, as it has remained during the changes of the Early English and Decorated periods. The wall above this Norman work, and the eastern parts, were entirely rebuilt,—fragments of Bishop Anian's church being worked up in them. At the east end was inserted a large Perpendicular window. Another large window, of five lights, was inserted on the south side; and high in the wall west of it, above the Norman masonry, were two smaller Perpendicular windows of three lights. In the north wall, against which the chapter house range abutted, was a doorway opening to the ancient muniment room. (There is an archway on a higher level above it, which is not very intelligible.) The arrangement of windows was adopted in consequence of a change in the disposition of the choir. The stalls were now placed within the eastern arm. The two westernmost windows were in the wall above them. The large south-eastern window, at a much lower level, lighted the shortened sanctuary.

Bishop *Deane*'s work suffered greatly during the

troubles of the Civil War, when the stalls were destroyed. Early in the eighteenth century the great east window seems to have fallen into so shattered a condition that its renewal was necessary. The window then inserted must have been a copy of the old. It was of five lights, cinquefoiled, and divided by a transom, with vertical tracery in the head. This window, filled with bad modern glass, remained until the present (1873) restoration.

Although some portions of the earlier work were found in the walls, this eastern arm united in itself so remarkably "the evidences of the three-fold history of the church—its reconstruction after early Norman devastation early in the twelfth century, its enlargement in the thirteenth century, and its restoration in the time of Henry VII."^{*}—that it was thought the most fitting course to restore it as it stood, without making any attempt to renew the Decorated presbytery of Anian's time. This has accordingly been done, and the main features of Bishop Deane's work remain unaltered, except that fragments of Anian's buttresses having been found, they have been added to the exterior of the choir, where they probably belonged. Bishop Deane's arrangement of the choir has also been preserved; since by this means the whole of the space under the tower, besides the transepts, is left free for congregational uses.

The present windows of the choir (see Plate II.,

^{*} Sir G. G. Scott.

where they are shown), are Perpendicular, and have not been altered. The roof, the stall-work, the furniture, and the pavement, are entirely new. The *pavement* has been designed after patterns of ancient tiles, found in this eastern arm, some of them *in situ*. They are of very good character, and are of a green colour, formed by the glazing. (See engravings at the end of Part I. and Part II.) The *roof* has been restored to its older and higher pitch; and now consists internally of a rich timber vaulting, gilt and coloured. The wall round and above the East window has been elaborately painted. In the uppermost stage appears Our Lord in glory. Below are figures of saints.

XIII. Bangor Cathedral was never rich in *monuments*. Those which now remain, and are noticeable, are—

In the *choir*, two tombs, dating from early in the fourteenth century, and therefore of the same early Decorated character as Bishop Anian's work. They are placed on either side of the choir, and close to the tower piers, passing quite through the wall. Below that on the south side a door opened from the choir into the chapel east of the south transept. (This doorway still exists, and has been restored; but is at present walled up, for the sake of strengthening the tower.) We are told that Bishop Anian *Sais* (the "Saxon"), who died in 1328, and was the successor, but one, of that Bishop Anian who began the restoration of the church, was buried "in a wall between the choir and the altar;" and one of these

tombs is probably his. In 1365 a certain Tudor ap Grono ap Tudor was buried "in the wall on the right side of the choir." The tomb, therefore, on the south side, is probably his. Both, however, are of the same date; and both must have been prepared, as was not unusual, during the Decorated reconstruction of the choir.

In the *South Transept* an inscription against the wall records that the body "interred within this wall, in a stone coffin," is supposed to be that of Owen Gwynedd, sovereign Prince of Wales. "He reigned 32 years, and died A.D. 1169. Both this prince and his brother Cadwallader were buried in this Cathedral church. History represents them as highly distinguished for courage, humanity, and courteous manners. Their father, Gryffydd ap Cynan, the last sovereign known by the title of King of Wales, overthrew Trahaern ap Caradoc, and ascended the throne of his ancestors, A.D. 1079. He was afterwards taken by treachery, and imprisoned in the castle at Chester twelve years. He escaped, recovered the entire possession of his kingdom, reigned 57 years, and died in his 83rd year. He was buried near the great altar which, with the larger part of the Fabrick, was destroyed during the insurrection of Owen Glendwr, about A.D. 1404."

When Giraldus Cambrensis was at Bangor with Archbishop Baldwin in the year 1188, the tombs of the two princes, Owen and Cadwallader, were shown to them in the presbytery, before the high altar.

This was in the Norman church. But Owen had died excommunicated by St. Thomas of Canterbury, "ob publicum cum consobrina incestum;" and Archbishop Baldwin directed that the Bishop of Bangor, seizing a fit opportunity, should remove the body from the church.⁷ Whether this injunction was ever obeyed does not appear, and it is more likely that it was neglected. On the lengthening of the eastern arm the remains may have been removed to their present position. But this is uncertain, and we have only the local tradition in support of the belief that the coffin of the prince was really immured here. Above the inscription a rude stone crucifix is built into the wall. The head of the Saviour is much inclined on the right side.

One other memorial in the church deserves mention. This is a tablet in the North Transept for the Reverend Gronovil Owen,—a Welsh "bard" of great local reputation. He was, according to the inscription, born in Anglesey in 1722; was educated at Jesus College, Oxford; and "omnibus fere bonis literis imbutus patriam linguam devinctissimo amore excoluit, auxit, ditavit. Tandem quum illi bene de

⁷ "Ostensum est nobis principis Oenei sepulchrum, qui in presbyterio coram altare cum fratre juniore Cadwaladro, in spelunca duplici jacebant: quanquam tamen Oeneus ob publicum cum consobrina incestum, a beato martyre Thoma excommunicatus obierit. Injuncto itaque loci illius episcopo ut visa opportunitate et occasione captata, corpus ab ecclesia quantocius ejiceret, per litora maritima iter incunctanter arripuimus."—Giraldus, *Itin. Kambriæ*, ii. 8.

literis, bene de patria merito nullus tamen Mæccnas arrideret, nullus eum patronus exciperet, id quod sui negarant apud exteros quærens perfugium in transatlanticis terris obscurus vixit, ignotus obiit. Ne talis viri penitus exolescat memoria hoc qualecunque sit monumentum Monenses sui et alii quidam *φιλόμουσοι* ponendum curaverunt, MDCCCXXXI." Eight lines of Welsh verse follow.

XIV. Before the present restoration was begun, among the few portions of visible work more ancient than the time of Henry VII., were the base-moulds of the building extending along the north side of the choir, and containing the muniment room and chapter house. These were sufficient to show that this building had formed part of the Decorated work. But it had been rebuilt in the Perpendicular period or later. All the windows were of modern character, and the greater part were closed. The condition of the interior indicated long continued neglect and decay.

This range of building, forming an aisle of equal length with the choir, has been entirely reconstructed; and here the return has been made to the Early Decorated of the time of Edward I., in accordance with the character of the ancient base-moulds. The most westerly division, into which the entrance is through the eastern arch of the transept, serves as an organ-chamber. On the east side of this there is an approach by steps to the vestibule of the muniment room. To this vestibule there is also an outer entrance in the north wall; and stairs ascend from it to

the chapter room above. The muniment room beyond is lighted by four small windows, two in the east wall and two in the north. In the upper room will be arranged the library belonging to the chapter, which boasts of some rare Aldines and Stephenses—and which, it may be hoped, will now receive something like proper care and attention. This building was originally roofed with transverse ridges, and gables facing north.

XV. Returning to the *exterior* of the Cathedral, the buttresses of the nave walls, and the windows of the nave, should be observed. The difference in the two sides may perhaps indicate that the north wall of the nave is more ancient than the south, although both formed part of the church ruined by Owen Glendower. The buttresses on the south side are plain, and rise in two stages. Those on the north side have three sets-off, and are banded by a string course running along below the windows. In the head of each buttress is a trefoiled recess. (For the south side of the nave, see the *Frontispiece*.)

The doorways, north and south in the nave, have continuous mouldings, without imposts; and may be compared with the earlier work of similar character at St. Asaph.

By far the most interesting part of the exterior, however, is the *South Transept*. Before the restoration three buttresses existing on the south front of the transept were the principal evidences of the reconstruction of the church by Bishop Anian. Two of

these were at the angles of the front; and the third, much shorter, below the great window. The buttresses were in complete ruin; but sufficient remained to show their very fine character. They were gabled, and their corners were moulded and shafted; the shafts, which had long perished, having been in four lengths in each buttress, and tied by moulded bands. The design was nearly the same as that of the (then far more ruined) buttresses of the Lady Chapel at Chester,—indicating, in the opinion of Sir G. G. Scott, that they were the work of the same architect.

In examining the more modern side walls of the transept numerous remains of buttresses were found, “nearly similar in design to those still existing, though in parts somewhat richer, and having foliated carving both in connection with their caps and bases.”^z They proved the former existence of five additional buttresses,—though where these stood is uncertain. Two may have flanked the east and west sides of the transept, and three the east end of the chancel. “I have assumed,” writes Sir G. G. Scott, “the appropriation of the first two, though unable to account for the flanking buttresses differing (a little) from the front ones. The evidence, however, seemed to me conclusive; for we have stones showing that the lower portion of the height of one of these buttresses was incorporated with the end wall of an aisle; and we have the actual intersection of the coping of the gable of such aisle with the buttress, for which I can ima-

^z Scott's ‘Second Report.’

gine no place excepting at the end of the east aisle of the south transept, already proved to have existed, and which it perfectly suits, and of whose roof it gives us the pitch. Here, therefore, I have placed it.”^a (See *Title-page*.)

The transept has accordingly been restored with the additional buttresses. And in the course of restoring the south window it was found that the short central buttress was in its original position, and that it had not been lessened, since it agreed precisely with the plan of the central pier of the Decorated window. The remaining fragments of buttresses have been built up at the east end of the choir.

The *corbel tables* terminating the walls of transept and choir have been restored in accordance with extensive remains found in the *débris*. Those of the transept have trefoiled arches, were carried on corbels, and have quatrefoils in the spandrils. Those in the chancel differ slightly, and have no quatrefoils. (Plate III.) The high roof of the choir is, as has been said, modern.

The *central tower* has not, as yet, been carried above the roof. But the engraving (*Frontispiece*) will show in what manner it is intended to complete it. It will be seen that this central tower is to be much loftier than Bishop Skevington’s at the west end.

^a ‘Second Report,’ p. 21.

NOTE TO PART I. § XV.

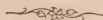
THE remarkable buttresses of the South Transept should be compared with those of the Lady Chapel at Chester. They greatly resemble each other, and were probably the work of the same architect. Sir G. G. Scott thus refers to them in a lecture on the 'Architectural History of Chester Cathedral' (Chester, 1870).

"Both works" (the Lady Chapel at Chester and the Transepts of Bangor) "must have been built at about the same time: the days of Edward I.; that at Chester erected, probably, during the time of the frequent visits of that great king, while engaged on his wars against Llewellyn; that at Bangor, let us hope, as a kind of 'Chapelle expiatoire,' after the overthrow of that valorous prince, and the appropriation of his principality. Anyhow, he was ever oscillating between Chester and Bangor. He was here (at Chester) either as a prince or a king in 1256 and 1274; again, when marching against Wales, in 1276; again, for the siege of Rhuddlan, in 1278; again, in 1281, 1282, and 1283, when, on St. Augustine's Day, he, with Queen Eleanor, heard mass in our Church (Chester) on his return from a Welsh campaign; again, in the following year; and ten years later, again, to suppress the rising of Prince Madoc; and in 1300 the Welsh did homage here to the young Prince Edward, the first Prince of Wales who was heir to the English throne. And it is, to say the least, interesting to find at each place what may be called sister works of his period."



Ancient Floor-tile from the Choir.

BANGOR CATHEDRAL.



PART II.

History of the See; with Short Notices of the Principal Bishops.

THE see of Bangor, of which the diocese was co-extensive with the principality of Gwynedd, was founded, according to tradition, by Deiniol or Daniel, who died in the year 584.^a Daniel is mentioned as Bishop of Bangor by Ricemarch in his ‘Life of St. David,’ and in the ‘Book of Llandaff,’ but nothing certain is known about him; and although he was recognised as a saint, no life of St. Daniel is known to be in existence, and possibly it was never written.

The name of the place at which the see was fixed indicates that St. Daniel had either found here, or had gathered about him, one of those great companies of cœnobites which were then not unfrequent in Wales. (See ‘St. David’s,’ Part II.) *Ban-chor*, the “head” or “chief” choir, was the name by which many of them were known; and St. Daniel’s Bangor has constantly been confounded with Bangor Iscoed, near Chester, the inhabitants of which were massacred by the heathen Ethelfrith of Northumbria be-

^a ‘Annales Cambriæ’—“CXL annus. Dispositio Danielis Ban-
corum.” He was, it is said, buried, where he probably died,
in Bardsey Island. “In ea, ut fertur, infinita sanctorum sepulta
sunt corpora; ibique jacere testantur corpus beati Danielis
Banchorensis episcopi.” Giraldus Camb. ‘Itin. Kambriæ,’ ii. 6.

fore his attack on Chester in 613.^b There was possibly a regular succession of bishops from the time of Daniel onward: but no records of the see of Bangor during its independent Welsh period exist, although Welsh bishops holding it are occasionally mentioned. “Elbodg Archiepiscopus Guendotiæ”—(Vendotia or Gwynedd: the title of archbishop is of no more value here than where it is assigned to the Bishops of Llandaff or St. David: see the General Introduction to this volume)—occurs in the ‘*Annales Cambriæ*’ between the years 768 and 809—he caused the observance of the Roman Easter to be adopted in North Wales)—and others are mentioned in 928 (Preface to the ‘*Laws of Hoel Dda*’) and in 945 (‘*Ann. Cambriæ*’). The letter addressed in 1145 by the Chapter of St. David’s to Pope Eugenius III., respecting the right of St. David’s to the metropolitan dignity, asserts that three Bishops of Bangor—Revedun, Morgleis, and Duvan—had been consecrated by Sulien of St. David’s (1071–1088) and Joseph of St. David’s, who died in 1064. This may have been the case, although the letter itself is of somewhat questionable veracity.

The continuous history of the see begins only in the year 1092; when the Norman King and Church forced into it a certain *Hervé* or *Herveus*, a Bréton, in favour with William Rufus and afterwards confessor to Henry I. Bishop Hervé was consecrated by Thomas Archbishop of York, the see of Canterbury being then vacant. He was neither nominated, nor was the election ratified, by the King of Gwynedd; and, so long as he occupied the see, he was in constant warfare with his rude flock, against whom he tried in vain the weapons of excommunication and of the temporal sword;^c at last he fled to England, having

^b The two places are confounded by William of Malmesbury, ‘*de Gestis Regum*,’ L. i. c. 47, in his account of the massacre.

^c “*Hic cum Episcopatu fungeretur Herveus, gentem efferam nimia austeritate tractabat; videns tantum in moribus eorum*

sought, but failed, to be translated to various sees, especially to Lisieux, A.D. 1107. At what time he left Wales does not appear, but at the death of Richard, Abbot of Ely, in 1107, Bishop Hervé was appointed "administrator" until the election of a new abbot. This, however, never took place. Ely was made the place of a new episcopal see—the diocese attached to it being separated from the then vast diocese of Lincoln; and, in 1109, Hervé became the first Bishop of Ely. He died in 1131. (For the history of the foundation of the new see, refer to 'Ely Cathedral,' Part II.)

The see of Bangor remained vacant until

[A.D. 1120–1139.] DAVID, a Welshman (*Walensem natione*, 'Ann. Eccles. Wigorn.'), from the Scottish Abbey of Wurzburg, elected by the Prince of Gwynedd,^d was consecrated at Westminster by Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury, to which see he made a profession of canonical obedience.

[A.D. 1140—1161.] MEURIG or MAURICE, "*vir eximie religionis*," elected by the Welsh (*a clero et a populo Bangornensis ecclesiæ*), was presented to King Stephen in the castle of Worcester, and, after some persuasion, took the oath of fidelity to him. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he made a profession of

perversitatem, quam nemo facile posset tolerare. Unde, quod episcopali timori nullam servabant reverentiam, gladium bis acutum ad eos domandos exercuit, nunc crebro anathemate nunc propinquorum et aliorum hominum eos coercens multitudine. Nec minor fuit eorum contra eum rebellio. Tanto periculo ei insistebant, ut fratrem ejus perimerent, simili modo cum puni-turi si possent in eum manus injicere. Expavit episcopus ingruens infortunium, plurimisque suorum interfectis aut graviter vulneratis, videns quod anima sua quæreretur, ut congruos haberet defensores, ad regis Angliæ confugit patrocinium, utile sibi consecutus exilium." Ric. Monac. Hist. Eliensis.

^d "Electum a Principe Griffino, clero et populo Walliæ."—*Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*—See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 314.

obedience. Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwallader (the princes buried in Bangor Cathedral, Part I.) protested, but in vain, against this election.

From the death of Maurice in 1161 the see appears to have remained vacant until 1177. In this interval took place the great struggle between Henry II. and Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury—the latter of whom attempted, but in vain, to impose a Norman bishop on the see of Bangor. The custody of the see during its vacancy was given by the archbishop to David, Archdeacon of Bangor; but the canons were not allowed a free election, and, apparently with the consent of Owen Prince of Gwynedd, they (and their Archdeacon David) sought to have their own candidate, whose name does not appear, consecrated by an Irish bishop. For this they are severely reprimanded by Archbishop Thomas. It is uncertain whether they actually obtained a bishop thus consecrated, though it is possible.* It was not until seven years after the death of Thomas of Canterbury that

[A.D. 1177—1190.] GUIANUS, or GUY RUFUS, was consecrated at Amesbury by Archbishop Richard. It is possible that he is the same as Wido Ruffus, Dean of Waltham, who had been one of Henry's ambassadors to the Pope against Becket in 1165, and who resigned his deanery in 1177. It was during his episcopate that Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Gerald de Barry (*Giraldus Cambrensis*), preached the Crusade throughout Wales. They were received "decenter" by the bishop at Bangor. On the following day the archbishop sang mass at the high altar, as he did in every Welsh cathedral, "*tanquam investituræ signum*,"—and Bishop Guianus or "Gwiawn," as he is called in the '*Brut*,' was compelled to take the cross at the great importunity of the archbishop and his followers, and

* A series of letters and documents relating to this period will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 364—375.

to the despair of his own flock.^f At his death the see (which Giraldus asserts was then offered to himself) remained vacant, for some unknown reason, until

[A.D. 1195—1196.] ALAN was consecrated to it by Archbishop Hubert. His successor was

[A.D. 1197—1213.] ROBERT OF SHREWSBURY, against whom a Welsh opposition arose, parallel to the great and almost contemporary strife at St. David's (see that Cathedral, Part II.), which lived on in the form of appeals to the Pope until at least 1203. The claimant, "*dicens se legitimum electum de Bangor, et Robertum ab Archiepiscopo superintrusum*" was the Sub-prior of Aberconway, whose appeals were unsuccessful. The see was vacant from 1213 till

[A.D. 1215—1236.] CADOGAN, Abbot of Blanchland, was consecrated, and made his profession to Canterbury. In 1236 he resigned the see, and was received in the Cistercian monastery of Dor, where he died and was buried.

[A.D. 1237—1267.] RICHARD. In 1241, together with the Bishop of St. Asaph, he became guarantee for the submission of David, Prince of North Wales, to Henry III. Bishop Richard suffered greatly from the wars and agitations of that troubled time. In 1248 he took refuge from them in the Abbey of St. Alban's, and remained there until his diocese had somewhat recovered from the waste and rapine to which it had been subjected.^g Succeeding years, however, brought him little improvement, and at length, "*in desolatione positus, et circumdatus undique laqueis,*" he implored permission from the Pope, Clement IV., to resign his see. The letter is curiously passionate, and shows that

^f Giraldus, '*Itin. Kambriæ,*' ii. 6. The bishop took the cross "*cum magna suorum ipsa in ecclesia lamentatione, miserabilique sub barbara quadam vociferatione utriusque sexus hominum tam clamore quam mærore.*"

^g "*Donec episcopatus ejus, qui per bellum destructus erat, aliquantulum restauraretur.*" Matt. Par., p. 645.

the bishop was, in thorough earnest, wearied of his troubles. "Clamo," he writes, "ejulo, vociferor, et pulso ad fores, patrone, vestras; ut sacrum illud conjugium, quo me prefatæ ecclesiæ fide media copulavi, jam conversum in vincula et compedes ergastuli carceralis, solvere dignemini."^b He died in the same year (1267) in which this letter was written.

[A.D. 1267—1305.] ANIAN, his successor, had been Archdeacon of Anglesea, and was in great favour with Edward I. after his accession in 1272. Little or nothing is known of his personal history. It was in his time that the Norman Cathedral of Bangor was destroyed by fire. Anian set to work to rebuild it, and much of the beautiful Decorated work which has recently been restored to light must be assigned to him. (Part I. §§ 2, 3.) It was Anian who baptised, at Carnarvon, the infant Prince of Wales, born in the castle there—but not in the Eagle Tower, which was not then in existence. His arrangement of the 'Use of Bangor' has been mentioned in Part I. § 2.

[A.D. 1307—1309.] GRIFFIN AP YORWERTH; consecrated at Carlisle, "quia commode in provincia Cantuar. non potuit."

[A.D. 1309—1328.] ANIAN "SAIS," or the "SAXON," succeeded. In the registers of Canterbury it is recorded that he was buried "in quodam muro" between the choir and the altar, and a tomb lately discovered in this position is probably his. (Part I.) He is, says Browne Willis, "the only bishop whose sepulture in this cathedral is taken notice of by any authors before the Reformation."

[A.D. 1328—1357.] MATTHEW ENGLEFIELD. (Godwin, without authority, inserts a certain Lewis between Anian Sais and Matthew.)

[A.D. 1357—1366.] THOMAS RINGSTEAD was a very learned Dominican of Oxford. By his will he leaves 100*l.* "ad reparationem" towards the restoration of his cathedral

^b The letter will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 496.

church—indicating apparently that the work begun by Bishop Anian was not as yet entirely completed.

[A.D. 1366—1370.] GERVAS DE CASTRO, intruded by Pope Urban, was consecrated at Avignon. He was, like his predecessor, a Dominican.

[A.D. 1371—1372.] HOWEL AP GRONO.

[A.D. 1372—trans. to Hereford 1375.] JOHN GILBERT. From Hereford he passed to St. David's in 1389, and died in 1397.

[A.D. 1376—1398.] JOHN SWAFFHAM was translated from Cloyne. He was a Carmelite of Lynn. In 1387 he obtained a grant of the sinecures of Llanynys and Llanvair towards the repair of his cathedral and maintenance of four chaplains to officiate in the choir.

[A.D. 1400—trans. to Rochester 1404.] RICHARD YOUNG: was sent in 1401 into Germany by King Henry IV. to account for the dethronement of Richard II. It seems, says Browne Willis, that “he made a pretty long stay,” and the temporalities were taken into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury (February 26, 1403), “ob negligentiam episcopi in remotis agentis.” Either before his German embassy or after his return, he was imprisoned for some time by the Welsh, who had risen against Henry IV. It was in the year of Bishop Young's translation to Rochester that the cathedral of Anian was burnt by Owen Glendower. (Part I.)

LEWIS BIFORT, who succeeded, was never recognised by the English king or archbishop. He was appointed by the interest of Owen Glendower, and was translated by the Pope to another see in 1408; but he appeared as “Ludovicus Bangorensis” at the Council of Constance. The next recognised bishop was

[A.D. 1408—trans. to St. David's 1418.] BENEDICT NICOLLS rector of Staplebridge, in the diocese of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1418—trans. to Carlisle 1423.] WILLIAM BARROW, Canon of Lincoln.

[A.D. 1425—1434.] JOHN CLIDERON.

[A.D. 1436—1447.] THOMAS CHERITON.

[A.D. 1448—trans. to Hereford 1453; died 1474.] JOHN STANBERY; a Carmelite of Oxford, reputed the most learned man of his Order. He was born at Stanbery, in Morwenstow, on the border of Devon and Cornwall; and in his will he bequeaths a silver crucifix, gilt, to the church of Morwenstow, where he was baptised; and 30*l.* to the Cathedral of Bangor to be expended “ad ejus tantummodo edificationem.” The fabric still lay in the ruin to which it had been reduced by Owen Glendower.

[A.D. 1453—1464.] JAMES BLAKEDON was translated from Achonry.

It will be remarked that throughout this period, and, indeed, with little change to the end, the see of Bangor was held by men of little note or distinction; and the few exceptions were speedily translated elsewhere. The see was nearly as poor as St. Asaph, and was placed more completely in the midst of the “Wild Welsh.”

[A.D. 1465—1496.] RICHARD EDENHAM.

A.D. 1496—trans. to Salisbury 1500; thence to Canterbury in 1501; died 1503.] HENRY DEANE, Abbot of Llanthony, which he held *in commendam* with Bangor until his translation. He built much at Llanthony, where the gatehouse retains his shield of arms; and was a great benefactor to Bangor, which he raised from its ruins. (Part I.) He rebuilt the choir, and, on his translation to Salisbury, left to his successor at Bangor a crozier and mitre of great value, on condition that he would finish what Bishop Deane had begun. He recovered also “divers parcels of land” for the see; particularly the Island of Seals (Ynys y Moelrhoniaid), between Holyhead and Anglesea.

[A.D. 1500—1504.] THOMAS PIGOTT, Abbot of Chertsey, which he held *in commendam*.

[A.D. 1505—trans. to Carlisle 1509.] JOHN PENNY, Abbot of Leicester, which he held *in commendam*. He was buried

in St. Margaret's Church, Leicester, where his monument remains.

[A.D. 1509—1533.] THOMAS SKIRVINGTON, or SKEFFINGTON, called also PACE; born at Skirvington, in Leicestershire; made his profession as a Cistercian monk at Merival, in Warwickshire, and passed for his education to St. Bernard's, the Cistercian house in Oxford, now part of St. John's College. He became Abbot successively of Waverley and of Beaulieu, and held the latter *in commendam* with the Bishopric of Bangor. He lived almost entirely at Beaulieu, as Bishop Pigott had done at Chertsey; but was a great benefactor to Bangor, where he built the tower and nave of the cathedral (Part I.). He seems also to have done something for his native place of Skirvington, where his arms (arg. a chevron sable between three gillyflowers proper) remain in one of the church windows, with the inscription, "Orate pro Thoma Pace, Episcopo Bangor." He ordered by his will that his body should be buried in the choir at Beaulieu and his heart in his own cathedral, before the image of St. Daniel.

[A.D. 1534—trans. to Salisbury 1539; died 1557.] JOHN SALCOT or CAPON, Abbot of Hyde.

[A.D. 1539—trans. to Chester 1541.] JOHN BIRD; had been suffragan Bishop of Penrith.

[A.D. 1542—1553.] ARTHUR BULKELEY. According to Godwin and to Fuller, he was born in Anglesea; "but it matters not much had he never been born, who, being bred Doctor of the Laws, had either never read, or wholly forgotten, or wilfully would not remember, the chapter '*de sacrilegio*;' for he spoyled the bishoprick and sold the five bells; being so over-officious that he would go down to the sea to see them shipped: which in my mind amounted to a second selling of them . . . he was himself suddenly deprived of his sight, who had deprived the tower of Bangor of the tongue thereof."¹ Godwin asserts

¹ Fuller, 'Worthies, Wales.'

that he was suddenly stricken blind as he turned away from the shore.^k He certainly sold sundry of the church ornaments—mitres, copes, and chalices, and possibly some of the bells—since by his will he admits that he had in his keeping a sum of money “of the church goods;” and by the advice of Dr. Glynn and others of the canons “he did fully bestow that sum, and much more, in the repairs of his cathedral.” He seems to have deserved a good, rather than a bad character; and he was certainly the first bishop who had been resident for more than a century. He was unfortunate in the times through which he lived; and he succeeded to a poor bishopric, without the power of holding *in commendam* such an abbey as had been enjoyed by many of his predecessors. The poverty of the see is sufficiently shown by these continued holdings, and by the non-residence of the bishops.

[A.D. 1555—1558.] WILLIAM GLYNNE, President of Queen’s College, Cambridge.

[A.D. 1559—1566.] ROWLAND MEYRICK. “I have nothing to add of him,” says Fuller, “save that he was father to Sir Gilly Meyrick, Knight, who lost his life for engaging with the Earl of Essex, 1600.”

[A.D. 1566—1585.] NICOLAS ROBINSON.

[A.D. 1586—trans. to Chester 1595.] HUGH BELLOTT.

[A.D. 1596—trans. to Chester 1597; thence to London 1604; died 1607.] RICHARD VAUGHAN.

[A.D. 1598—1616.] HENRY ROWLANDS. He bought new bells for Bishop Skirvington’s tower, and founded two Fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford.

[A.D. 1616—1631.] LEWIS BAYLEY: Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; Chaplain to Henry Prince of Wales; and Treasurer of St. Paul’s, London.

[A.D. 1632—1633.] DAVID DOLBEN.

[A.D. 1634—1637.] EDMUND GRIFFITH, Dean of Bangor.

^k ‘De Præsul. Angliæ.’

[A.D. 1637—1665.] WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sub-dean of Wells. He suffered much during the Civil War, but lived through it, was restored, and revived the services of his cathedral. By his will he bequeathed 100*l.* toward “beautifying” the choir.

[A.D. 1666 — 1673.] ROBERT MORGAN, Archdeacon of Merioneth.

[A.D. 1673—1689.] HUMFREY LLOYD, Dean of St. Asaph. He procured an Act of Parliament by which the revenues of the Archdeaconry of Bangor and the sinecure Rectory of Llanrhaider were annexed to the see.

[A.D. 1689—trans. to Hereford 1701; died 1712.] HUMPHREY HUMPHRIES, Dean of Bangor.

[A.D. 1702—trans. to Meath 1715.] JOHN EVANS.

[A.D. 1716—trans. to Hereford 1721; thence to Salisbury 1723; thence to Winchester 1734; died 1761.] BENJAMIN HOADLEY. Hoadley never visited Bangor (it is said from an apprehension of party fury); but it was while holding this see that he preached (1717) his famous sermon on the text, “My kingdom is not of this world,” for which he was condemned by Convocation, and which gave rise to the war of pens known as the “Bangorian Controversy.” (See ‘Winchester Cathedral,’ Part II.)

[A.D. 1721—trans. to Lincoln 1723.] RICHARD REYNOLDS, Dean of Peterborough.

[A.D. 1723—trans. to Norwich 1727.] WILLIAM BAKER.

[A.D. 1728—trans. to Salisbury 1734; thence to London, 1748; died 1761.] THOMAS SHERLOCK. (See ‘Salisbury Cathedral,’ Part II.) Bishop Sherlock’s sermons have been often reprinted.

[A.D. 1734—1737.] CHARLES CECIL, translated from Bristol.

[A.D. 1738—trans. to York 1743; thence to Canterbury, 1747; died 1757.] THOMAS HERRING. (See ‘York Cathedral,’ Part II.)

[A.D. 1743—trans. to York 1747; thence to Canterbury,

1757; died 1758.] MATTHEW HUTTON followed the advance of his predecessor.

[A.D. 1748—trans. to Rochester 1756.] ZACHERY PEARCE.

[A.D. 1756—trans. to Lichfield 1768; thence to Durham 1771; died 1787.] JOHN EGERTON.

[A.D. 1769—1774.] JOHN EWER was translated from Llandaff.

[A.D. 1775—trans. to Canterbury 1783; died 1805.] JOHN MOORE.

[A.D. 1783—1800.] JOHN WARREN; translated from St. David's.

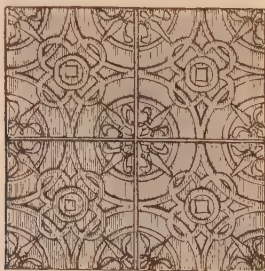
[A.D. 1800—trans. to St. Asaph 1806.] WILLIAM CLEAVER; translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1807—trans. to London 1809.] JOHN RANDOLPH; translated from Oxford.

[A.D. 1809—1830.] HENRY WILLIAM MAJENDIE; translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1830—1859.] CHRISTOPHER BETHELL; translated from Exeter.

[A.D. 1859— .] JAMES COLQUHOUN CAMPBELL.



Ancient Floor-tile from the Choir.





